The City and the Land.

LECTURES

1892.

Palestine Exploration Fund.

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PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

THE CITY AND THE LAND.

A COURSE OF SEVEN LECTURES ON THE WORK OF THE SOCIETY,

Delivered in Hanover Square in May and June, 1892.

PUBLISHED FOR THE COMMITTEE OF THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND,

24, HANOVER SQUARE, W.,

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PREFACE.

In the early part of the present year the Executive Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund arranged for the delivery of a series of afternoon lectures, by distinguished scholars and explorers, with the object of bringing the aims and chief results of the labours of the Fund before the public in an attractive and popular way. The great value of these lectures, and the remarkable interest manifested in them, have led the Committee to resolve on this publication.

Palestine Exploration Fund,
24, *Hanover Square, W.*

Ancient Jerusalem.

BY

COLONEL SIR CHARLES W. WILSON,

K.C.B., K.C.M.G., D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S., R.E.

The Chair was taken by the ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

HIS GRACE, in introducing the lecturer, observed that they must not look upon theirs as an ordinary Society. It was a scientific body of explorers, represented in Palestine exclusively by scientific persons furnished with the knowledge and with the instruments that were available for ascertaining scientifically the facts relating to the Holy Land.

Sir Charles Wilson had been associated with the Society from the outset. They were aware of the important position which he occupied as Director-General of the Ordnance Survey, but in addition to that his geographical labours were known in every quarter of the world. His researches had been so complete and so accurately tested that it would not become him to say more of them. He would only add how dear Sir Charles was to the hearts of all Englishmen for the gallantry he had shown and the wisdom he had brought to bear upon most difficult circumstances in the past. Year by year richer results were accruing from the work of the Society. Its aims were not limited to anything short of ascertaining all the facts that

could be ascertained, and following up all discoveries that could be made. A careful survey had been executed, the results of which could be seen in the magnificent map here open to their inspection. Both below and above the surface of the ground researches were making steady progress, and in addition they were gathering up living customs, and still living traditions, and sifting them with the greatest care. They would thus be the means of handing down to those who hereafter could not have the same opportunities, the real and actual condition of the Holy Land as it now was.

His Grace then referred to the interesting papers comprised in the last issue of their Journal with regard to the Maronite people and their monks, giving information hitherto quite out of their reach.

With regard to the surface they could satisfy themselves of the accuracy of the survey. This had been put to the closest test by an independent body of surveyors and map draughtsmen. The survey had indeed given the most accurate results, and the value of them could not be over estimated. At no time were their investigations more full of promise than at present, and never was the survey more certain of completion.

SIR CHARLES WILSON: The subject upon which I have been asked to address you is so large that it is not possible, in the time allotted to me, to do more than touch upon some of the more salient points. I shall endeavour, however, to give you some idea of the topographical features of ancient Jerusalem, and to point out what we know at present

and what is still uncertain. There have been no recent discoveries of importance at Jerusalem, but such discoveries would certainly follow upon excavations carried out in a systematic manner. Many of the questions at issue are now so far narrowed that the positive or negative results of excavations made at certain points would be equally valuable.

Jerusalem is situated at the southern extremity of a gently shelving plateau, which is no more than 1,000 acres in extent. This plateau is almost encircled by two valleys—the Valley of the Kedron and the Valley of Hinnom—which, commencing within a short distance of each other as shallow depressions, soon acquire the character of ravines and run together, near *Bîr Eyûb*, 672 feet below the starting point. Thus while to the north of the city there is no material difference between the level of the ground outside and inside the walls, on the other sides the ravines present the appearance of great ditches protecting a fortress. The plateau is itself intersected by a ravine which, rising to the north of the city, runs southward to join the Kedron at Siloam, and divides the little table-land into two spurs of unequal size. The ravine is the Tyropœon Valley of Josephus; and of the two spurs, that on the west, which sustained "the Upper City," is the higher and more massive, whilst that on the east,—the Akra on which the "Lower City" stood, is much lower and smaller. A fourth ravine, the

"Valley called Kedron," of Josephus, rises in the eastern half of the plateau and runs into the Kedron a short distance north of the Golden Gate ; in it lies the large pool known as the *Birket Israîl.* The topographical description of Josephus is most accurate ; he states that Jerusalem "was built on two hills opposite to one another, but divided in the middle by a ravine," called the Tyropœon, which extended as far as Siloam and separated the hill of the Upper from that of the Lower City. He adds that the hill which sustained the Upper City was much higher and in length more direct, whilst the other, which was called Acra, was the shape of the crescent moon. The language could scarcely be more precise or accurate, for the excavations have shown that the eastern hill, stripped of the rubbish and masonry which now conceal it, has exactly the form of the crescent moon.

A very interesting feature of great economic importance is the geological formation of the plateau on which the city stands. The upper strata are beds of a hard reddish and grey stone called *Misseh*, the lower of a soft easily worked stone known as *Melekeh.* The latter bed, which is some 35 feet thick, underlies the whole city. All the great subterranean reservoirs, nearly all the tombs, the Siloam aqueduct, and the caverns at Siloam have been hewn out of it, and the great quarries near the Damascus Gate show that it

was largely used for building purposes. The *Misseh* beds have, however, yielded the best and most durable building material, and the stones from these beds can be easily recognised in the walls by their sharp edges and superior state of preservation.

The ancient *water supply* of Jerusalem is an interesting subject for investigation, but as I entered fully into the question yesterday, I will only say now that it was derived from springs, wells, rain-water collected during the rainy season and stored in reservoirs and cisterns, and water brought from a distance by aqueducts and stored in subterranean reservoirs. The early inhabitants no doubt depended on the one natural spring—Enrogel, the "Virgin's Fountain"—on wells, and on rain-water stored in cisterns. As the town grew, reservoirs were constructed to impound the flood water in the adjoining valleys; and when the Temple services, with their frequent ceremonial ablutions, were instituted, water was brought from a distance by aqueducts and stored in large subterranean reservoirs within the Temple precincts. The first aqueduct was that, from Solomon's Pools, which has been called the "Low Level Aqueduct." It supplied the Temple enclosure, and was probably made by Solomon. Another, the "High Level Aqueduct," was apparently constructed by Herod to supply water to his three towers near the Jaffa

Gate, and to the fountains in the gardens of his palace to the south. A third aqueduct was constructed by Pontius Pilate to convey the water from *Wâdy 'Arrûb*, near the road to Hebron, to Solomon's Pools, and thence by the "Low Level Aqueduct" to the Temple. The fact that the water ran into the Temple enclosure probably explains the appropriation of the *corban* by Pilate to the construction of the aqueduct.

Some light may be thrown on the topography by a careful study of the modern streets which, as regards direction and position, must represent very closely those of Herodian and even of præ-exilic Jerusalem. The city was probably, like other ancient cities, divided into quarters by main streets, which were the continuation of the principal roads coming from the country. These streets would be connected by cross streets, and the *insulæ* thus formed would be intersected by the narrow winding lanes so often mentioned by Josephus. Perhaps the best marked of the ancient streets is that which runs, almost in a straight line, from the Damascus Gate to the south wall and beyond it to the Valley of Hinnom. This street, a continuation of the great road from the north, seems, at one time, to have been lined with columns. It apparently passed through the second wall by a gate that existed in the Middle Ages under the name *porta judiciaria;* through the first, or old

wall, by a gate near the modern "Gate Gennath," and through the present south wall by the old Zion Gate, which was destroyed by Sultan Suleiman when he rebuilt the walls. The course of the ancient street can be clearly traced to the south of the present wall, and the point at which it passed out of the old wall by the "Gate of the Essenes," can be determined within a few feet. Here then is a point at which excavations would at once yield results.

The most satisfactory way of investigating the ancient topography of Jerusalem is to commence at the time of its greatest prosperity, immediately before its downfall, and fortunately we have in the works of Josephus a very full and complete description of the city at this period. This is not the place to discuss the veracity of the Jewish historian; but it is certain that he was intimately acquainted with the localities he describes, and every new discovery seems to give a higher idea of the accuracy of his local knowledge. It is only possible in the time allotted to give some of the conclusions at which I have arrived without stating the arguments. The most marked feature of the plateau on which Jerusalem stands is the deep ravine, the Tyropœon Valley, which divides it into two spurs, or hills. The continuity of the *western* hill, which sustained the Upper City, is partially broken by a little gully that runs down from the Jaffa Gate to the Tyropœon, and marks the line

of the first or old wall. The term "Upper City" is upon one occasion applied by Josephus to the high ground between the Jaffa Gate and the north-west angle of the present wall, and it seems clear that under that term he included the ground on both sides of the gully; but the "Upper Market Place" appears to have been that part of the "Upper City" only which lay to the south of the gully. The lower slopes of the western hill were known on the south as the "suburbs," and on the north as the "third hill," on which stood the "other city."

The exact form of the *eastern* hill is not known at several important points, but the excavations have shown that it had the shape of the crescent moon. Its rocky crest has in several places been cut away, and this has given an appearance of prominence and isolation to points like the *Sakhrah* which they did not originally possess. Between Jeremiah's grotto and the present wall there is a wide rock-hewn ditch connected with the great quarries which Josephus calls the "Royal Caverns." At the Ecce Homo Arch there is another rock-hewn ditch, and the ground between these two ditches is Bezetha, the "fourth hill" of Josephus. To the south of the last ditch was the Antonia, and beyond it a third rock-hewn ditch mentioned in the description of Pompey's attack on the Temple. That portion of the hill south of the Ecce Homo Arch was called Acra, or the "Lower

City." The "Valley called Kedron," in which lies the *Birket-Israîl*, is stated to have been within the walls of the city at the time of the Roman siege.

The determination of the position of the Temple is perhaps the most difficult question connected with the topography of Jerusalem. All writers agree that it was in the enclosure known as the *Haram esh-Sherif* but few are agreed as to the portion of that space which it covered. I must confess that I am a supporter of the late Mr. Fergusson's theory that it occupied a square of 600 feet at the south-west angle of the Haram; and the following are some of the reasons that have led me to adopt this view. The Temple, according to Josephus and the Mishna, was a square, and the former states in three different passages that each side measured a stadium or about 600 feet. The south-west angle of the Haram is a right angle, and the masonry for some distance on each side of it, which is generally acknowledged to be Herodian, must have formed part of the west and south walls of the Temple enclosure. This great work, carried out in the face of considerable engineering difficulties, can only be explained by supposing that the Temple stood near the south-west angle and that Herod was consequently obliged to increase the available space for the cloisters that he added on the west and south.

Now about a stadium east of the angle is the

Triple Gate, where the ground commences to fall rapidly to the east, and the solid substructure of the *Haram* gives place to a series of weak vaults of comparatively late date ; and the same distance to the north is "Wilson's Arch," which marks the position of one of the principal approaches to the Temple. Further Josephus states that on the south front of the Temple stood the Royal Cloister, which was one stadium long. This cloister can only be fitted in between the south-west angle and the Triple Gate ; and "Robinson's Arch" is exactly in the position required to support a roadway leading directly to its central aisle. Again Josephus mentions four gates on the western side of the Temple, and four ancient approaches to the *Haram* have been found on this side. One gate which "led to the King's palace, and went to a passage over the intermediate valley" must have been above Wilson's Arch. Two others represented by Robinson's Arch and Barclay's Gate led to "the suburbs" on the low ground between the cliff of the western hill and the Tyropœon ; and the fourth, now Warren's Gate, led to the "other city," or, in other words, to that quarter of the city which lay between the second and third walls, that is between the *Muristân* and the *Haram.* On the south the Temple had "gates about the middle," and these still exist as the "Double Gate," which, with its vestibule must have formed part of the

substructures of the Royal Cloisters. If, as the Mishna states, there were two Huldah Gates, then the second must have been the Triple Gate, which in its original form, opened upon a ramp that would have reached the level of the Temple enclosure opposite the Gate Shushan in its east wall. A large portion of the south-west angle is made ground, and this agrees with Josephus' description of the construction of the Temple platform. So too the number of subterranean reservoirs in this portion of the area agrees with the statement in the Mishna that "the mountain of the house and the courts were hollow underneath," lest there should be a hidden grave below.

The alternative view is that the Temple stood near the centre of the *Haram*, and that the *Sakhrah*, in the "Dome of the Rock," is either the "stone of foundation" upon which the Ark rested, or the site of the altar. Some writers place the altar to the north of the *Sakhrah*, others to the south. The principal argument in favour of this view is that as the Temple courts descended in terraces round the Holy House, the Temple and altar must have been on the top of the hill, and it is urged that the levels of the various courts, ascertained by the number of steps leading to them, can be brought into accordance with the actual levels of the rock in this part of the Haram, and nowhere else. It is, however, nowhere stated that the

Temple was on the top of a hill, and there is no such complete accordance between the levels of the several courts and the level of the rock as has been suggested. It may also be mentioned that the rock being everywhere near the surface of the ground in this part of the Haram, there is ample room for the erection of a small building like the Temple without the extensive foundations indicated by Josephus. The "stone of foundation" was not, as the *Sakhrah* is, a portion of the ridge of Moriah, but a movable stone, and it was so regarded by Jewish tradition ; and there is no evidence that the Altar was erected above a cave, such as that beneath the *Sakhrah.*

The castle of Antonia, which replaced the citadel of the Asmoneans, occupied the north-west angle of the *Haram ;* and here, with very few exceptions, writers place the Macedonian Acra, which gave its name to the eastern hill. The western limit of Antonia is defined by the west wall of the Haram, the northern by the ditch which separated it from Bezetha, the eastern and southern limits are still unknown. It may be observed that, until Herod built his three towers on the western hill, only one citadel, that on the eastern hill, is mentioned in connection with Jerusalem ; and that even after the towers were built the garrison was always quartered in the Antonia on the eastern hill, and the towers only occupied by the guards of the Roman Governor.

The tower Hippicus, which Josephus takes as the starting point for his description of the walls, is the tower at the Jaffa Gate, and the tower Phasaelus is identical with the tower of David. The first, or old wall, started from the Jaffa Gate and running eastward along the northern brow of modern Zion, where portions of it have been seen, crossed the Tyropœon and ended at the Haram wall at or near Wilson's Arch. Its southern course from Hippicus can be laid down as far as the rock-hewn steps in the Protestant cemetery, perhaps Bethso, and on to the gate of the Essenes, at the end of the street running south from the Damascus Gate, but beyond this all is doubtful until the wall on Ophel is reached. That the Pool of Siloam was outside the wall is clear, but the point at which the wall crossed the Tyropœon above it is unknown. No certain traces of the second wall have yet been found. It must have run along the south side of the ditch that separated Antonia from Bezetha, but whether it included or excluded the Church of the Holy Sepulchre is uncertain. The view I take is that it ran along Christian Street and included the Church. The third wall followed very closely the line of the present wall, the tower Psephinus was at the north-west angle, the Royal Caverns are the quarries near the Damascus Gate, the "corner tower" was at the north-east angle, and the point of junction with the old wall was a short distance

north of the Golden Gate. Some writers maintain that the wall extended much further to the north, but this theory seems to be disproved by the absence of any trace of a wall or ditch on the ground supposed to have been included, which has been largely built over during the last twenty-five years. Other structures of interest were Herod's palace, which lay to the south of the "Tower of David"; Agrippa's palace on the eastern brow of modern Zion; the Xystus on the low ground beneath it; the house of Ananias, the high priest, which was near Wilson's Arch, and was perhaps the same place as the "house of Caiaphas," to which Christ was taken; the Hippodrome south of the Temple, which can apparently be traced south of the Haram wall; and the tomb of Herod, perhaps that prepared for Aristobulus, which must have been close to the *Birket Mamilla.*

An interesting subject for inquiry is the extent of præ-exilic Jerusalem. Professors Robertson Smith and Sayce are of opinion that it was confined to the eastern hill; but the area of that hill is insufficient for the large population that must have lived in the city during the reigns of Solomon and some of his successors, and there is no indication in the Apocryphal books or Josephus that the city bounds were enlarged between the rebuilding of the walls by Nehemiah and the reign of Herod. My own view is that Jerusalem was a city of gradual growth. The

first settlers established themselves close to the spring of Enrogel at the base of the eastern hill ; the town gradually extended up the hill, and an Acropolis was then built. When David took the city it consisted of the Acropolis on Mount Zion, and the walled town beneath. After its capture it became the religious and political centre of the Hebrew race, and the Acropolis was more strongly fortified by David, who made it his place of residence. During Solomon's reign the trade between the east and the west, owing to the peculiar circumstances of the time, passed through his dominions. The wealth and population of Jerusalem increased rapidly, and it was probably during this prosperous period that the western hill was surrounded by a wall and brought within the limits of the city. As time went on a second wall was added on the north, and there was no further increase until the third wall was built by Agrippa after the Crucifixion. Another interesting question is the position of Zion. Unfortunately Josephus does not mention Zion, and the Bible notices give no exact indication of its topographical situation, though many of them mention it in such a way as to lead us to believe that the mount on which the Temple was built is intended. The authors of the Books of Maccabees, however, who certainly knew Jerusalem well, directly identify Zion with the Temple Mount. On the other hand Josephus says that the citadel

taken by David was on the western hill, and this hill has been identified with Zion since the fourth century A.D. This view necessitates the supposition that the Zion of David was the western hill, that after the return from the captivity the name was applied to the eastern hill; and that during the first century it was retransferred to the western hill. A more probable view is that Zion was the eastern hill, and that the name was only applied to the western hill after Constantine had built his "New Jerusalem," or group of churches on the supposed site of Christ's death and burial.

A much disputed point is the position of the Tomb of David, and the tombs of his successors. It is possible that the tomb was of the Phœnician type, a shaft leading down from the surface of the ground to a large tomb chamber excavated in the *Melekeh* bed, and that it has so escaped observation. The most probable site for it seems to be the end of the eastern hill, above the Pool of Siloam, and M. Clermont Ganneau has ingeniously suggested that the remarkable curve in the conduit between the Fountain of the Virgin and Siloam is due to the existence of the tomb and the necessity for avoiding it.

Another question which has attracted much attention latterly is that connected with the sites of Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre. The question may be considered under three heads:—(1) did

Constantine ascertain the exact localities of the Crucifixion and burial of Christ; (2) does the Church of the Holy Sepulchre stand on the ground once occupied by Constantine's churches; and (3) where, supposing the first question be answered in the negative, should the true sites be sought. After considering all the evidence it is difficult to resist the conclusion that, in selecting a site, Constantine and his advisers were guided by no definite tradition and by no trustworthy historical evidence. There may have been some lingering tradition of the direction of Golgotha; but the actual discovery was regarded as a miracle, and it would not have been so described if the site had been previously known.

The second question may be certainly answered in the affirmative. The records of the early pilgrimages leave no doubt on the point, and during the last fifteen or sixteen years large portions of the pavement surrounding the churches of Constantine have been laid bare, and a great reservoir constructed by the Emperor close to the church has been discovered. It may further be observed that a comparison of the plan of Arculfus with that of the existing church shows that the circular church of the Anastasis has preserved its form, and that from "Calvary" eastward the south wall of the Basilica can be traced for a considerable distance.

The determination of the true site of Calvary must

rest chiefly on topographical considerations, and unfortunately the Bible gives only the very slightest indications of position. Christ was led, we are told, from Gethsemane to the High Priest's house, possibly that mentioned by Josephus which was near Wilson's Arch; and the next morning He was brought before the Sanhedrim which was probably sitting in the "Council House" close to the west cloister of the Temple. He was thence taken to the Prætorium and brought before Pilate, who, after judgment, delivered Him to the Roman soldiers to be crucified. The Prætorium could only have been the Antonia, in which the Roman garrison was quartered, or Herod's Palace, in which the Roman Procurator lived,—certainly in the time of Gessius Florus, and probably in that of Pilate also. It is difficult to believe that Pilate and his wife would have lived amongst the soldiers in the Antonia when Herod's magnificent palace was at his disposal. On the other hand tradition, as early as the fourth century, places the Prætorium to the east of the Holy Sepulchre. Possibly, and there is nothing against this view in the Bible, Christ, after having been condemned by Pilate at Herod's Palace, was taken by the soldiers to the Antonia, which was at once a citadel and a state prison, and thence led out with the two thieves to be crucified. It must be remembered that at the time of the Crucifixion the third wall had not been built, and that a branch

of the great road from the north ran along the eastern hill to the castle of Antonia. It seems also probable that, as the sin offering was to be burned without the camp and to the north of the Altar, Christ the Antitype suffered in the same position.

The traditional site of Calvary was within easy access of Herod's Palace, if that were the Prætorium, and it has in its favour the existence of rock-hewn tombs in its vicinity. On the other hand it is uncertain whether it lay without the second wall, and it is west rather than north of the Temple area. The knoll above Jeremiah's Grotto was identified with Golgotha by a German, Otto Thenius, in 1849, and this identification has since been strongly advocated by Major Conder, the late General Gordon, and others. It is near the north road, and it has a northerly position in regard to the Temple enclosure, but the principal argument in its favour is said to be the fact that it was the Jewish "House of Stoning." There seems every reason to believe that this spot was the ancient Jewish place of execution by stoning, and if Christ had been condemned for an offence against the religious law He would no doubt have suffered death there by stoning. Christ, however, was condemned by the Roman governor, and He was crucified by Roman soldiers, and it is highly improbable that the soldiers would have selected the

Jewish place of stoning for the Crucifixion. It was the Roman custom to crucify beside a main road so as to terrify the people; and it may well be that Christ, having been brought from Herod's Palace to the Antonia, was led out to crucifixion along that branch of the north road which kept to the eastern hill without descending into the valley. Perhaps the view which best meets the requirements of the case is that which was advocated by the late Bishop Gobat of Jerusalem,—that Christ suffered directly north of the Temple on the hill or spur to the east of Jeremiah's Grotto. There are, however, no means at present of localising the site of the Crucifixion, and in some respects it is fortunate that there are none.

Modern Jerusalem is growing at a great pace, and since the survey, the result of which is before you, was made in 1864–65, the hill to the north of the Russian Convent has been almost entirely covered with houses. The time is rapidly passing when excavations can be economically carried out, and I wish that people in England would follow the example of those of other countries and buy ground in Jerusalem upon which excavations can be carried out. With so much building going on the price of land is rapidly rising, and in a few years the prices will be almost prohibitive. At present there are many plots of ground which could be advantageously

purchased for excavations ; but the opportunity of purchasing these plots will soon pass away.

The lecturer then showed a number of exceedingly interesting photographic views illustrative of the present condition of Jerusalem.

WALTER MORRISON, M.P., moved that a vote of thanks be accorded to His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury for presiding at the meeting. His Grace's predecessor in the Chair was Archbishop Thomson, one of the first members of the Society, and though a busy man, he had always found time to preside over their meetings. They had another example of this in the presence of the Archbishop there. It was the busy men who had most leisure. On behalf of the Committee he moved a cordial vote of thanks to his Grace for presiding over them on this occasion. He observed that there was a certain appropriateness in the head of the English Church being their President, and he congratulated them on the fact that the work was in the hands of an English Society, which year after year was piecing together the past history of the Holy Land.

The REV. CANON TRISTRAM, in seconding the motion, thanked his Grace for the interest and sympathy he had shown in the work of popularising the study of the geography of the Holy Land.

The PRESIDENT thanked them for their kindly appreciation of his attendance, but observed that the honour was his to have been invited to preside. The interest attending the proceedings of the afternoon was due to the fact that the

work was being carried on by trained scientific men, of men who sought to make out the precise facts respecting the Holy Land. He observed that none would understand or read their Bible better by either forming or receiving preconceived ideas as to what it ought to mean. Men must have candid minds to ascertain what it did mean. They could only learn what God willed to teach them, by being most careful and true seekers after truth. They had to do not only with a city of the ancient world, a generation dissimilar to their own, but while the discoveries at Jerusalem were as exciting as any classical explorations, Jerusalem was the city and home of the revelation of God, crowded with ideas which touched their own daily life, and it was being revived stone by stone from the dust. This resurrection was a thing for which they could not adequately thank those who had laboriously given themselves up to find.

The Future of Palestine.

BY

MAJOR C. R. CONDER, D.C.L., LL.D., M.R.A.S., R.E.

Author of "Tent Work," "Heth and Moab," "Palestine," &c.

The Chair was taken by Mr. F. D. MOCATTA.

In his introductory remarks and those which he made on the conclusion of the lecture, the Chairman dwelt on the condition of the Jews in modern Jerusalem, where their numbers have risen in forty years from 8,000 to 27,000. Their increase, he pointed out, is mainly due to the steady flow into the country of Russian Jews, driven by persecution out of the country of their birth. This increase, he said, was not favoured by the Jews of Western Europe; not that they wished to keep their own people out of Palestine, but because they feared the effect of too great and sudden an increase upon the already large mass of poor and struggling people. He also pointed out the necessity of improving the water supply of the City.

MAJOR CONDER: The future of Palestine is a very interesting subject; and there is no other country in Asia, concerning the fortunes of which a British audience is more desirous to be informed, than the Holy Land of Jew and Christian. But there is a difficulty, which presented itself to me when first

asked to lecture on this question ; which no doubt also presents itself to my audience. Who is in a position to say what that future will be?

Moreover it must be asked what is meant by the future? Are we thinking of the years immediately to follow, or of a more distant time ; and are we to consider the future which would grow naturally out of the past and the present, or some future due to a great cataclysm or catastrophe, of which at present we see no immediate indication? It is evident that in the latter case no individual is better able to foresee than another, what may be the results of war or revolution, or other unexpected social events. All that I suppose to have been intended by the Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund, when sending me their invitation to speak on this subject, is to give some account of the changes which, within my experience, have come over the country ; and of the natural tendencies which may be observed, as the outcome of those changes. It is from the history of the past, from considerations of climate and geographical situation, and from a knowledge of the population of a country and of its social ideas and aims that we are in most cases best able to form some rude forecast of that which will follow. It is only to such natural developments that it is now proposed to refer.

The position of Palestine in the very centre of the

ancient civilised world, and the fact that the great highways of trade, which united India, Persia, and Mesopotamia with the Mediterranean shores—with Greece, Italy, Carthage, and Egypt—led across its plains, has from the very earliest times made the Holy Land at once the gathering place of nations in peace, and the theatre of wars which decided the fate of the great surrounding powers. The Hebrews did not dwell in some remote corner, to which few other races had access : they looked down from their hills on the busy crowds of traders and soldiers who, in all ages, streamed along the coast roads, and crossed the Galilean downs, either pressing southwards from the wilds of Armenia and Asia Minor, crossing the Euphrates from Nineveh and Babylon, sailing from Phœnician ports to the Nile, or on the other hand coming up from Egypt, to conquer the countries which for so many early centuries were ruled by the Pharaohs, and meeting their enemies at the great battlegrounds of Megiddo and Carchemish. History repeats itself more especially in such matters as are related to commerce and to war ; because the roads of a country remain unchanged century after century ; the natural features—mountains, springs, and rivers—unaltered ; and the vantage grounds of combat identical, even though the weapons and tactics of armies may be very different. Thus as early as 1600 B.C. a great battle of Armageddon was fought, where Megiddo

guards the Bethabara ford over Jordan, and yet another battle on the same spot, a thousand years later, sealed the fate of the kingdom of Judah. In the twelfth century Christians and Moslems met again at Armageddon, and the Hebrew prophets foretold a still more terrible battle of Megiddo to come in the end of days. Of all the fierce tribes which swept age after age over Palestine, none were more terrible than the Scythian savages, who are called Gog and Magog in the Old Testament. It was through their outbreak from the Caucasus that the civilisation of Assyria and of Palestine itself was ruined, in the years preceding the Captivity; and the same natural causes which drove these hordes of barbarians from southern Russia—famine and inclement climate in their northern home—continued to send down on the more favoured southern lands, in later times, equally relentless swarms of Mongols and Kurds, of Armenians and Turks.

It is not then a matter for surprise that military authorities should hold that, if ever another such incursion from the Caucasus occurred, the battles of the future, in Syria and in Palestine, might be fought on the old battlefields—at Carchemish, by the Euphrates ferry, and at Megiddo, where the highways from Damascus, and from the Valley of the Lebanon converge. It is not only the Christian student of prophecy who looks forward to such an event, for the

common belief of the Moslems also points to the same theatre of a future conflict; and the educated opinion of European strategists also acknowledges the same deduction from a knowledge of the natural features of the Holy Land—the position of its harbours on the west, and the direction of its highways to the passages of its rivers.

But it is not with such convulsions that we are for the present concerned, but rather with the gradual changes which are taking place in the country, in its population, and in its relation to surrounding lands. The East is often called immutable, and the traveller often supposes that what he sees is the same that might have been seen in Asia for several centuries before. Yet within the twenty years since first I set eyes on the yellow sands of Jaffa, there have been silent forces at work, which make the Palestine of to-day a very different country from that which the Palestine Exploration Fund set itself to study. The events which have occurred in Russia, and in Turkey, in Egypt and in Cyprus, have not been without their influence in the Holy Land; and it is possibly to the action of the explorers themselves, and to the new Palestine literature which has been growing up during those years, that these changes are in some measure due. Certainly it is remarkable, in conversing with those interested in the subject, to note how much better informed the educated public now is, in all

matters connected with the Holy Land, than was the case when Sir Charles Wilson and Sir Charles Warren first began to work, or when my letters were shelved in an English country post office, because they were directed to me at Jerusalem, and the postmistress said in explanation that she thought "all that was done away with."

Considerations as to climate and geography, as to history and race, and not less as concerning religion, together form the best data on which to base an estimate of future possibilities; concerning all these points we are certainly now better informed than any of our predecessors; and to these data in succession we may devote a few minutes' consideration.

Several correspondents have, from time to time, asked me to say whether there was any foundation for the popular opinion that the climate of Palestine has recently undergone a change—reverting to that of former times, before the country fell into ruins; whether the rains were now more copious, and the plains more blooming, and the country generally better fitted to support a prosperous population. The answer to such questions is to be found in the Quarterly Statements of the Palestine Exploration Fund for the last quarter of a century, and in the meteorological tables which Mr. Glaisher has published, and still continues to publish. It is certain that, as in other countries, minor variations of climate

have recurred during that period : as in earlier times years of drought have succeeded each other, and at other times there have been visitations of locusts, and subsequent years of plenty and of heavy rain. During six seasons I was able to observe such variations, and experienced years of drought and of flood, mild winters, and years when the mountains were covered with snow. But the meteorological records do not show any important or sudden alteration ; and I doubt whether any inhabitant of Palestine could bring forward evidence that, during his life-time, crucial changes had occurred.

Nor does it seem to me that any other deduction can be drawn from the Biblical accounts of Palestine. The country, its climate, and its productions, are the same now which are described by the Hebrew writers. In the days of Christ there was fever, due to the miasma in the plains of Gennesareth. In Ahab's time there was drought succeeded by heavy rains. No doubt what change there has been has been for the worse, since there is evidence of disforesting in Lebanon, and near Bethlehem, in Sharon and elsewhere, and since the decay of the great aqueduct system, and the ruin of the numerous cisterns, and the fouling of some of the springs, have all tended to impoverish the country, and to render its rainfall more precarious. But every year I saw the plains of Sharon covered with wild flowers, and the Jordan

valley a carpet of glorious hues. The deserts of to-day are the same in which David wandered, and the corn, wine, and oil have not ceased from the land. The true curses of the country are injustice and ignorance ; and the decay of population has led to the shrinking of agriculture, and to the spread of briars, thorns, and rough brushwood where once there were winepresses and vineyard towers. In this connection I may be allowed to quote the words of the Jewish memorial, presented to Lord Salisbury last year, in which we read the conclusions of those who had well-informed themselves on their subject :

"If at this moment the ground is barren in parts, and refuses to yield its increase, we know that it is the hand of man that has wrought the evil. The hand of man shall remedy it."

There is no physical reason why the prosperity of Palestine should not be equal to that of former days, or of the Italian regions which, in climate and character, so closely resemble the Holy Land.

Geographically the position of Palestine, and its advantages and disadvantages, remain unchanged. There is still a range of ten thousand feet from Hermon to the Dead Sea, with varying climates and varying products within a very short distance of each other. There is still an absence of good natural harbours ; there is still a well distributed water supply in springs and streams ; there are still easy

highways from north to south, and rugged mountain cross roads from east to west, with one great natural path across the country, from the Haven under Carmel to the plains of Bashan, crossing by Jezreel to the Jordan Valley, and going east to the capital at Damascus ; and still is Jerusalem girt by the mountains, which were its strength in the old times when Assyrians and Egyptians alike passed by it through the western plains, and even the Romans fought for three years before they could set their camp against its walls. There is also still a trade, which can be traced back to the earliest historical period, uniting India with Europe, and passing either to the immediate south of the country, or from the Euphrates to the northern cities—Antioch and Damascus. The situation which made Palestine an emporium of the trade of all the Levant when Ezekiel wrote, may again in the future render it the centre of a busy commerce, when its resources have been developed by modern science.

Historically also Palestine has always been a coveted country; and it remains still a coveted country, to which the eyes of most European nations are turned. The regions around it are for the most part less naturally fertile, and have greater extremes of climate. The very earliest monumental information which we possess shows us how the powers of Egypt and of Chaldea strove for its possession.

About 2500 B.C. the great Mongol King Gudea, ruled over the whole of Mesopotamia from the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean—that is before the times of the immigration of the Hebrew patriarchs. He tells us how he hewed cedars in Lebanon, and brought granite from Sinai to carve his statues, which have been brought recently from the Tigris to the Louvre in Paris; and at the same time the Egyptians were busy mining for copper in Sinai. In the centuries which followed, the Hittites—whose language was the same almost as that spoken by Gudea, advanced to Hebron; and cognate tribes invaded Egypt. "The Canaanite was then in the land," and the Hebrews a small and wandering tribe. About 1700 B.C. the northern Mongolic powers were driven back from Egypt, and a century later the great battle of Megiddo was fought; the league of Hittites, Phœnicians, and northern peoples of various races was defeated; and Palestine became Egyptian. About 1450 B.C. another revolution broke out against the weak Amenophis IV.: the Hittites became the great Mongol power of the north, and the Hebrews invaded the south, while as yet Assyria was weak, and when Egypt was for a time a decaying power. And this contest between the powers of the north and of the south for the possession of Palestine has gone on ever since, with intervals of independence, when the combatants had for a time ruined each other. The only new feature

in the history of land, in the later times, was the appearance of European nations—the Greeks, the Romans and the Franks—all equally covetous of the possession of Palestine, and each establishing a transient power, to be overthrown in time by the returning Asiatic wave. The latest recurrence of such events was witnessed when Napoleon failed to conquer Palestine, when Muhammad Ali swept over the country with Egyptian troops, on the highways which Thothmes and Rameses had followed, and when the Turks from the north—the modern Hittites, so closely allied by speech and type and character to their sturdy prototypes four thousand years ago—drove back the Egyptians to the borders of the Gaza deserts.

But religion has had more influence on the history of Palestine than on perhaps any other country, and must continue still to influence its future in a very remarkable degree. From the days of the Captivity downwards the eyes and hearts of one remarkable race at least have ever been turned towards its ruined sanctuary. For a thousand years at least, from Constantine to Edward the First of England, men's thoughts were intent, throughout Europe and indeed throughout the then known world, upon the future of Palestine. The stream of pilgrims flowed uninterrupted, from the days when Constantine built his basilica, where now a great cathedral

still stands, down to the time when Edward the First in despair gave up his hopes of reconquest from the paynims. The description of the Holy Land, the legends of its sacred sites, and the history of its conquest and loss, were the popular readings of all classes, during those many centuries which are covered by the literature gathered together by our Pilgrim Text Society—a literature more interesting and romantic than any record of modern travels.

It is a remarkable fact, however, and one which is often overlooked, that Palestine is not, in the strictest sense, the Holy Land of Muhammadan races, although it contains some of their most venerated holy places at Jerusalem and Hebron, and though its population is mainly (by profession) Moslem. It is often asserted that Muhammad first ordered his followers to turn to Jerusalêm in prayer, and only afterwards—when he became a bitter enemy of the Jews—instructed them to turn to their old Sanctuary of Mecca, in Arabia.

A careful investigation shows, however, that Muhammad probably never made any such change. He was himself indifferent as to the Kibleh, and only instituted the turning to Mecca in his later days to satisfy his followers. He never commanded them in the Koran to turn to Jerusalem. He constantly warned them that the Jews would be their most bitter antagonists, though he regarded Christians—on

account, as he says, of their meekness—as being the nearest to his own beliefs. It was a century later, when the family of Muhammad's enemy Abu Sofian were ruling as Khalifs in Damascus that an attempt was made to form a new Muhammadan centre, on the ruins of the Jerusalem temple, and to discourage the pilgrimage to Mecca; and it was not till much later that a commentator invented the story of Muhammad's change of the Kibleh—or religious centre. The attempt failed; and Mecca remains the holy city of Islam: though the Khalif stills retains the title of *Hâmi el Haramein*, or "guardian of the two sanctuaries"—of Mecca and Jerusalem. Such being the historical outcome of schemes which were political rather than religious, it has resulted that the Muhammadan occupation of Palestine is one of the great claims of the present Khalif to recognition by all the Moslem world. And for this reason the Turkish resolution to hold on to Palestine, must be expected to be more dogged and inflexible than in the case of any other of their possessions except perhaps Arabia. Yet by a curious succession of changes, the champions of the Moslem faith in our own days are strangers, of another race than that of their prophet; and the proud descendants of his "comrades," are the subjects of the modern Hittites, who have re-established the sway which they exercised over Hebrews and Phœnicians in the first ages of history, before the time of Joshua.

Such then is the religious aspect of the future. The Moslem is bound by his faith to fight for the possession of Palestine; the Jew turns his eyes as ever to the home of his fathers, and more than ever desires to raise up again the ruined land. The Christian pilgrim comes now, not only from Britain, which Jerome believed to be the end of the earth, but even from unsuspected America beyond. The Russian comes yearly, in steamers chartered by the Czar, to visit the holy places; and even those who persecute their clergy at home, encourage and subsidise their Jesuit Missionaries in Syria. In spite of the great changes which time has wrought Palestine is still a centre, to which the eyes of Europe and of Asia are turned, and still a country coveted by many. It is not then unnatural to conjecture that it may again become the theatre of stirring events—the political outcome of that ever recurring Eastern question which is never answered. But while we recognise these possibilities, we must also not forget that, half a century ago, the immediate downfall of the Turkish Empire was believed to be certain. Such is the tenacity, and so important are the reasons for the tenacity, of the Turkish hold on Syria, that the time may still be long before the country ceases to be a Muhammadan possession.

We turn then to the consideration of the gradual changes of the last twenty years—due to causes

which are still at work, and perhaps working more rapidly than ever. When first I entered the country, in 1872, Palestine was not as yet completely tamed by the Turks, and the old independence of the peasantry had not been altogether lost. There were villages in the hills, west of the Sharon plain, where the inhabitants told me that they had never seen a Frank before ; and parts of the Jordan Valley where no European had as yet penetrated. It was naturally in these regions that our new discoveries were most numerous and important. Even now I believe that I and my comrades are the only Europeans who have lived so long below the level of the sea, and have seen the clouds covering hills of which the tops are lower than the Mediterranean. But what I would draw attention to now is, that great changes have come over the Palestine populations, through the large increase of the Jewish and Christian elements, and through the decay of the sturdy Moslem population, and the better acquaintance with western civilisation, of which the members of the Survey parties, which I commanded for six years, were in some regions the pioneers. This change had already begun ten or twelve years before the Survey was started, and was in part due to the statesmanship of Lord Dufferin. After the great Damascus massacres he framed for the Lebanon a constitution, admirably fitted to the needs of a simple Christian populace ;

and the result was that the Druzes gradually retired from this region, and formed new and important centres, on Hermon and in the eastern part of Bashan. Under the rule of a Christian Governor—now the Turkish Ambassador in England—the Lebanon region prospered, and increased in wealth and population, until in our own time it presents a marked contrast to the other Syrian provinces ruled by the Sultan. In this, as in other cases, to use the words of the famous Austrian soldier "Father Radetzky," a "Christian state has risen from the body of the Turk." The Lebanon has been filled with a hardy and independent Christian peasantry, and its overflow of population has brought Christian traders and settlers into the surrounding regions of the mainland, as well as into Cyprus.

But in 1872 this movement was only just beginning, and the progress which I remarked on revisiting the Lebanon ten years later was very remarkable. In the latter year native Christians were not afraid to say openly to the Muhammadans: "Once the Christian was the ass and the Moslem rode—now the Moslem is the ass." Such a speech would have been regarded as very dangerous in 1872. The fanaticism of the Syrian Moslems has, it is true, never been equal to that of the Persians. Even in the ninth century El Mukkadasi complained of their want of zeal for the Holy War. But in the early years of the Survey we

were often cursed as "pagans," and sometimes stoned. I have found myself the object of abuse in Hebron—the last centre of true fanaticism in Syria—when, cold and wet, I sought a lodging after a long ride in the hailstorm. On that occasion we were hospitably received in the then despised Jewish quarter. It was in the war time of 1877 that the change began to be more apparent, since large drafts of the peasantry were taken away, to die in the Balkans or in Armenia fighting against the Russians. Cultivation suffered when only old men, women and children were left to till the land; and perhaps not more than one in ten of the conscripts returned to his home. Thus in 1881 we found the villages, which we had known as fairly prosperous in earlier years, falling into decay, the spirit of the once independent Moslem peasantry broken, and many of the chiefs who once owned horses reduced to walking, and very willing to sell the ancient freehold of the village lands to any foreigner who would buy. In 1872 there were, as far as I could hear—while travelling all over the land—only two European owners of agricultural property in Palestine. But gradually the peasants were forced—as in Nehemiah's time—to sell themselves as serfs to the foreclosing usurer, or to part with their lands to the German and to the Jewish colonist. They had suffered by the war, and by the famine which followed the war, to an extent which is little known in England.

The result of these events has therefore been, that the power of the Christians has greatly increased of late years in Palestine—especially in the north; and that the power of the Moslem population has decreased. But on the other hand the power of the Turkish Government has grown stronger rather than weaker, and their hold on the country has become more secure, though the revenue drawn from a Moslem population has perhaps decreased. One of the great difficulties which awaited us in carrying the Survey over Jordan lay in this change, which was unknown to have occurred. When Sir C. Wilson, Sir C. Warren, and Canon Tristram made excursions into these regions, the Turks as yet had very little authority. Even later the Turkish Governor, who tried to levy taxes from the Arabs, was sent home naked, having been robbed of all he possessed. But in 1881 I found the Turks established all over this region, and the Arabs much afraid of them. Had we not entered into a compact with the last survivor of the old school—Sheikh Goblan en Nimr—a sturdy rebel, who hated the very name of the Turk, we should never have been able to carry out our entirely innocent design of making an antiquarian study of the regions of Moab and Gilead, as we did in a measure carry it out. When I left England in 1881 I was quite unaware of the changes which had occurred. The east of Jordan

is now yearly becoming more civilised, and the visit of the Royal Princes (the first royal personages since the twelfth century to venture over Jordan) no doubt did something towards the bringing into the pale of civilisation of these picturesque and interesting regions, as their visit to Hebron also did something towards the breaking down of the old jealous fanaticism of the Moslem guardians of Abraham's tomb in Machpelah.

But there is yet another movement which has already led to important results, and may lead to even greater ones in the future—a movement caused by the Russian persecution of the Jews. In 1873 it was calculated by Mr. Tyrrwhitt Drake that the Jerusalem Jews, who then numbered only a few hundred in all, were increasing at the rate of 1,200 or 1,500 souls per annum. The first Russian persecution gave a great impulse to this movement, and the recent cruelties at Moscow have given yet another impetus to Jewish colonisation. When I first saw Jerusalem there were only a few scattered villas outside its ancient walls. There is now a Jewish suburb, extending for a mile along the western road : there are other large suburbs on the north—near the old quarter which was included in the Third Wall ; and on the south along the line of the Bethlehem aqueduct and road. I suppose that the present Jewish population

of the Holy City cannot be reckoned at less than 40,000 souls, which represents a trebling of the total population in twenty years. The trade of the city has fallen chiefly into Jewish hands, and they are no longer a timorous and oppressed minority, but something more resembling the masters of the city. The overcrowding has led no doubt to much misery and poverty, but not to the general disaster that was feared; and the interest of Christians and Jews in all countries has been much stimulated by this gathering of Jews in Palestine.

I may, I think, without presumption, claim to have had some share—with others—in this movement. In my first publication—*Tent Work in Palestine*—I combatted the popular idea that Palestine was no longer a habitable country. What I then said led to an offer, from the editor of the *Jewish Chronicle*, to write for that paper a set of articles on Jewish colonisation in Palestine; and it would seem that these attracted some attention in Jewish circles, since they were translated into other languages. They also attracted the notice of Mr. Laurence Oliphant, and led me into correspondence with him on the subject. He took up the idea, and I framed a series of proposals, which he at first seemed disposed to accept as a basis; but afterwards substituted for my proposed colony in Galilee, a proposal of his own for a Jewish province in Gilead. This new proposal seemed to me

to present several difficulties. I doubted if the Sultan would consent to the formation of an *imperium in imperio*, and I also doubted whether—supposing the difficulties with the Arab population to be overcome—the Gilead region was not too remote, too subject to nomad attacks, and too ill-provided with communications leading to the sea, to be the natural centre of a new Jewish population. Mr. Oliphant also proposed lines of railway which no engineer would attempt to make, as the gradients were prohibitive: and I believe that the only line which is at all likely to succeed is that which I drew in my letters of 1878, leading from the haven of Carmel to the capital at Damascus, by the easy slopes of the Jezreel plain, and the great ravine of the Yermuk.

While these schemes were being discussed further changes were going on, which were partly due to the work of the Palestine Exploration Fund. The knowledge obtained of Palestine, and the example of the explorers led yearly to a constant increase in the number of the tourists. Mr. Cook arose, and made travelling easier and cheaper. I do not know if he has seen fit to accede to my earnest entreaty, that he should refrain from desecrating the ancient walls of the Holy City with a staring signboard bearing his name; but Mr. Cook has been a great missionary; and many who owe him safety and health will be inclined to forgive him this advertisement. The

gradual change which has come over English opinion, in consequence of more general familiarity with Palestine during the last twenty years, is worthy to be compared with that which, in the twelfth century, resulted from the Crusades ; and the explorers have been the Peter Hermits of the nineteenth century. The position of the Jews in the country has not suffered from such increased incursions of civilised visitors.

It is not in Jerusalem only that the Jews have established themselves, although the main crowding has been to that centre. When under Ezra and Nehemiah the small remnant of the Captivity—priests and merchants chiefly it would seem—came back to their own land, they spread themselves over the villages of Judah, Dan, and Benjamin, and left only a remnant in the capital. You will remember the passage in the Bible in which this is stated,

" And the rulers of the people dwelt at Jerusalem : the rest of the people also cast lots, to bring one of ten to dwell in Jerusalem the Holy City, and nine parts to dwell in other cities. And the people blessed all the men that willingly offered themselves to dwell at Jerusalem " (Neh. xi, 1).

This arrangement was the basis of a custom which has never died out. In spite of the harsh laws of Romans, from Titus down to Constantine, the Jews were always eager to keep a representative population in the Holy City ; and they brought the bones of

their fathers even from Spain, to be buried with Abraham at Hebron, or on the Mount of Olives, where I regret to say that some have violated their tombs for love of antiquarian study. In the fourth century they met yearly, to mourn over and anoint the "Stone of Foundation," on which the Holy of Holies once was raised, and which is now covered by the old Arab Dome of the Rock (improperly called the Mosque of Omar) which was erected in 688 A.D. In later times they were only able to wail at the outer western wall of Herod's great temple enclosure, and they have continued to do so down to our own times, being a representative congregation of "standing men"—to use the words of the Talmud—who have been "blessed" by the Halukah, or pious alms of Jews from all foreign lands. This population, which existed even under the Normans who persecuted the Jews, preserved among other traditions of importance that of the "House of Stoning," or true Calvary—as I pointed out in 1878, at the knoll north of the city, now known as the "Place of the Skull."* I believe that, in quite recent times, the old arrangement of drawing lots for residence in Jerusalem has been revived, among the Jewish building clubs, which have been the means of erecting the suburbs of the new Jerusalem already mentioned. The members, I

* See my article on the "Place of the Skull." *Good Words*, April, 1892.

am told, drew lots among themselves who should first inhabit the houses so built. It is evident that if this new population is to thrive, it must also disperse itself in the country, leaving not more than a tenth of its numbers in the capital; and this was clear when the starvation which threatened the new-comers in 1884 led to attempts, on the part of the Jerusalem Mission, to establish a non-sectarian Jewish colony at the foot of the Jerusalem hills. What has been the fate of that colony recently I have not heard. The site was not particularly healthy, and the majority of the new-comers were small traders and artisans, whom one would not expect to be very successful in agriculture; but the Jews who have come back to Palestine have so often succeeded in enriching themselves, where others would have starved, that no one would be surprised to hear of new towns springing up wherever they settled.

There was also a somewhat ill-found and unfortunate colony on Mount Carmel, which Mr. Laurence Oliphant mentions, and which was started not more than ten years ago; and other establishments further east concerning which I have gathered little, though it appears that industrial centres have been founded north of the Sea of Galilee. But the report which appeared last year in the *Morning Post* (6th July) shows that, in other cases, success has been much greater than might have been expected. The writer

attributes this success to Mr. Netter of the "Alliance Israelite"—a society which founded a fruit-growing colony near Jaffa more than twenty years ago; and to me it appears more probable that permanent results will be due to the action of the Jews themselves, than to any outside influence, seeking to bring about artificial arrangements for their future. The Jaffa farm is marked on the Survey map, and here the old custom of setting apart the *Trumah* and the *Maaser* for the priests is, after a manner, revived; but since there are now no legally pure priests to take this portion, it is said that one per cent. of the produce is annually buried in the earth.

Colonisation societies were formed ten years ago in Roumania and Southern Russia, which sent agents to buy suitable properties in Palestine; and from the subscriptions funds were raised to buy agricultural instruments, cattle, and other necessaries; and families were then moved to their new homes. It is said that there are now 2,000 Jews ploughing the land, whereas in 1881 I believe that not one could have been found. The earliest of these colonies settled at Lydda—a very suitable locality, which was repeopled by the Benjamites in Nehemiah's time, at the foot of the Jerusalem hills inland of Jaffa. There were here settled 55 families of German and Hungarian Jews; but the largest colony is said to be the *Petach Tikvah*, or "Gate of Hope," in which 400 colonists own, it

would appear, some 3,500 acres. About 100 persons are here engaged in agriculture, owning 200 head of cattle, besides horses. Their vineyards include 70,000 plants, and they have 2,000 olive trees with other fruits. On Carmel—at Summarin which was the site of the colony already mentioned—there were said to be last year 600 colonists with 160 acres. This centre is called the *Zicron l' Yakob*, or "Memorial of Jacob," and there is a field hand to every acre, and cattle to the amount of 250 head, with 50,000 vines. Carmel is a region suited to vine cultivation, and Summarin is in a healthy district.

Another colony, called *Rishon l' Zion*, or "first of Zion," is reported to own 500,000 vines, 3,000 olive trees, and 3,000 almonds. Near Ekron, in the plains of Philistia, is the colony called *Mazkereth Baitha*, or "the Memorial of the (Holy) House." This has only about 100 acres of land, and here mulberries are grown, the plantations including 25,000 trees. There are other centres called *Rosh Pinah*, "the corner stone," where 200 colonists have planted 250,000 vines, 3,000 olives, 3,000 citrons, and 3,000 other fruit trees; *Gedera*, a small settlement of 40 acres, and several others in the Jaffa plains. The farmers are reported to find a ready sale for their produce, and indeed the presence of a doubled population in Jerusalem would naturally lead to an opening for such increased cultivation.

From these data, which there is every reason to

suppose credible, it would seem that, while others have been talking the Jews themselves, in spite of many difficulties and discouragements, have been acting, and have begun to succeed. Some have said that the Jews will not take to agriculture; and indeed there was only too much reason to suppose that this would be the case, when the newly arrived Jerusalem population was found to consist mainly of artisans. But in America the Jews have been successful farmers, and it is said that the new colonies consist of men with agricultural experience, well chosen and well fitted for their present occupations. In Galicia alone it is reported that 600,000 Jews depend on agriculture for a living; and 13,000 Jewish field hands are found in the Russian Government of Kiev. It is therefore no longer necessary to look with apprehension on the future of these agricultural establishments; and it is somewhat amusing to read the criticisms on such beginnings, which are offered by western writers who are unaware of the progress already made. The action of philanthropists and Jewish capitalists may no doubt deflect a large population to less desirable homes in North or in South America; but the Jews acknowledge that a "Palestine-hunger" has seized on many of their poorer brethren, who are being driven from lands not far distant from their old home. Palestine cries aloud for inhabitants, to build up its ruins, to fence up again its ancient vineyards, and to

build the terraces on its hills. The detailed accounts of all parts of the country, the maps which show the paths and springs, the ancient cultivation, and the heights which indicate climate, are accessible to all. The Jews have read these accounts ; and have heard of the fortunes of those who first ventured into the field ; and the result has been that many more have decided to follow. The new laws in Russia will continue to give an impetus to this movement, and the tide will set even more strongly to the Holy Land. There is a society in England called the *Chovevie Zion*, or " friends of Zion," which collects considerable sums to foster the movement, and which has grown more powerful during the present year. All that is now to be feared is lest the movement should be prematurely forced, and large numbers of untrained hands admitted ; but the system of the agricultural societies appears to be very sensible ; and it is a real assistance to the control of the movement that the Turkish authorities have set their faces against any pauper immigration. We are witnessing the first commencement of a very interesting historical episode in Palestine, and events which may in the future profoundly affect the history of the East. Ideas which, when I wrote them down twelve years ago, seemed to be ideas only for a future which might be very distant, are becoming facts, not through any artificial scheme, but by the natural action of the people who are most concerned. The

railway which I proposed is now being started, and the colonies, to which I recommended the cultivation of wine, oil, and corn, of cotton and fruit trees, are now coming into existence in many parts of Palestine. It is an instance of the *litera scripta manet*, which is an astonishing evidence of the power of the daily newspaper press, over the thoughts of men.

Still more astonishing is the fact that we are, it seems, to have, next year, a railway in Palestine. I do not refer to the Jerusalem railroad, or to the fell railway or tram which French engineers say they are going to make along the old coach road from Beyrout to Damascus. It seems very doubtful whether a railroad over a mountain chain like the Lebanon can be made at all, or would pay for the great expense which would be incurred. But no engineer could live long in the country without seeing that the first and most natural line would be one connecting the capital with the sea-coast, by the shortest and easiest route; and this railway is not only practicable, but will, I believe, shortly be commenced. Whether the present trade would pay the shareholders is another matter, on which I am not capable of forming any opinion; but there can be little doubt that it would pay in the end. The presence of a railway means increased population along its course, increased cultivation, and, in time, increased commerce. It is true that exaggerated estimates of the importance of

Palestine, as the granary of the ancient world, have been put forward—for the ancient world was small, and thinly peopled—but it is also true that the rich soil of Bashan produces excellent crops; and that Damascus, with its 250,000 inhabitants, is by far the largest of Syrian cities.

The line which is contemplated, I am told, would start from Haifa under Carmel, which is one of the best roadsteads on the whole coast. It would follow the Kishon River to the great plain of Esdraelon, which rises only 200 feet above the sea. It would then descend by an easy gradient down the Valley of Jezreel, and cross the Jordan. The plains of Bashan are some 1,200 feet above the Mediterranean, and the ascent to these forms the only difficult section of the line. I calculate that, by following the Valley of the Jermuk, they can be reached by a steady gradient of about one in sixty, which, though steep, is not prohibitive, seeing that the distance is not very great. When the plateau is reached the rest of the line would be along the old Roman highway to Damascus, which is straight and level; and here no difficulty would be found. Whenever accomplished, this will, I believe, be the first Syrian railroad. It may be a comfort to some to know that it does not pass through any of the holy places. Nazareth and the Sea of Galilee lie to the north, and Jezreel to the south. No doubt travellers would often use the line in visiting

these sites ; but there will never be a railway station in the place of the home of Christ.

The Jerusalem railway is a much older scheme. It has always seemed to me difficult to make, and very unlikely to pay its expenses. It is I believe now begun and the line traced to the foot of the hills south of Gezer. This line may also be useful to tourists, as shortening the journey ; but the real difficulties begin after Gezer is past: and when an ascent of 2,500 feet has to be made in a very short distance of some twenty-five miles. Probably therefore the Jaffa railway must content itself, for a long time to come, with its present achievement in crossing the Philistine plain. There is only one other easy line, namely, along the sea coast to Egypt and Alexandretta. This in time will be made, but not perhaps until the country is more wealthy than it now is. Lines in Gilead, in the Jordan Valley, and over Lebanon, are all more or less impracticable from an engineering point of view, and the line which I believe I was the first to propose, is the only one into which there seems as yet any desire to put British capital.

There are several interesting points which occur in connection with the Damascus-Carmel railway. In the first place its construction would render yet more probable, in case of war, a conflict on the old battle-field of Megiddo or Armageddon. The possession of the only railway in the country would become the

inevitable and single objective of the strategist. Supposing Damascus to have fallen, or to be besieged, and a relieving force to be landed under Carmel, the main contest would be for the passage of the Jordan, and on the Jordan passage Megiddo, and the Har-Megiddon, or "Mountain of Megiddo," look down. The defence of Southern Palestine from a Scythian invasion, would be more easily accomplished along this line than by any other; and for military reasons alone the Turks should be glad to have this line made to the capital, and should discourage the making of any other further north—unless indeed they connected Aleppo with the sea, and defended the passage of the Euphrates on the old battlefield of Carchemish.

The second consideration is more peaceful. The country has never had any roads, since the Roman highways of the second century A.D. were allowed to fall into ruins; and this is perhaps one of the chief reasons why Palestine has remained so long out of the pale of that civilisation which is now approaching it, in Egypt and Cyprus, and which indeed has reached its shores already. But in the nineteenth century railways often precede roads, and lead in time to their construction. With a railway over Bashan the whole character of the good lands east of Jordan would change, because they would be brought into easy communication with the sea and with the capital.

At the present time communication is difficult, and since the Jordan bridges, of which there were three in the twelfth century, have been broken down, it is altogether cut off when the Jordan is in flood. This was one of the great dangers in rear which had to be guarded against in 1881, when we were surveying Moab; and it is the main reason why as yet no colonies in Gilead have been attempted. The Gilead hills present the most picturesque, the best watered, and the healthiest, of all the Syrian regions—less rugged and barren than Lebanon, and better watered than Judea. When a railway skirts the northern border of this region, Gilead also will be fitted to receive the growers of vines and the tillers of cornfields. The sparse population of the nomadic Arabs will retreat to the south and the east; and the scattered villages will grow up again into towns, such as we know to have here flourished from the Christian era down to the era of Islam.

The sketch which has thus been given of the changes which have occurred, and which are now occurring in Palestine, may perhaps enable us to forecast the future in some degree. The change really dates from the outbreak of Moslem fanaticism which caused the massacres of 1860, leading to a French expedition, and to Lord Dufferin's settlement of the Lebanon. They have been accelerated by the last war between Russia and Turkey, and by the per-

secution of the Jews in Russia—the causes of which still appear to be very obscure. They have also, I believe, in some measure, been due to exploration, and to a more complete knowledge of the country, and of its capabilities. All who write on such subjects lay themselves open, at first, to the reproach of "enthusiasm," which in the nineteenth century seems to be the worst that can be cast at any writer. But it is from enthusiasm that all that is best and greatest in the story of man's life on earth has sprung; and the enthusiasm is not now that of a single dreamer, but of a whole people; a people who have made their name great in history by this one thing—enthusiasm. The dreams of twenty years ago are fast becoming the realities of to-day.

What then we may perhaps expect to see in the future—if the future be one of peace for Palestine—is the gradual increase of agricultural population, and the spread of prosperous settlements. The presence of the Turks will not forbid such progress, though it may place obstacles in the way of its more rapid growth. This growth will be due, not to the schemes of individuals, but to the communication of man with man, among the humbler classes of Jews and Christians. The Moslem peasantry, whose fanaticism is slowly dying out, coming under such influences will gradually become more intelligent and more active, but will cease to be the masters of the country; and

as European capital and European colonists increase in the country, it will come more and more into the circle of those states, which are growing up out of the body of the Turk. With such a possible future it is hardly credible that western nations will permit the Holy Land to fall under Russian domination. Any violent attempt to interfere with the peaceful development of a land well fitted to support a large and thriving population would inevitably lead to a formidable "Palestine question," which would have to be answered at Carchemish or at Megiddo. Meanwhile the "return of the Jews" does not depend on any race but themselves; and they are already returning, and mean to return in yet greater numbers: for the opposition of Governments cannot defeat, though it may regulate, such a movement—with advantage thereto.

Finally, I would remark that the outcome of any project, however small in appearance, can little be calculated till it becomes apparent. The Palestine Exploration Fund began its labours only with the object of casting a newer and a truer light on the Bible. Yet it has thereby perhaps become instrumental in aiding those, who are to form the future population of the country, to obtain true facts about its capabilities; and has thus served to promote, by peaceful and conscientious labours, the future prosperity and lifting up from its misery, of that which we call the Holy Land.

THE
Natural History of Palestine.

BY

THE REV. CANON TRISTRAM, D.D., LL.D., F.R.S.
Author of "Land of Israel," "Natural History of the Bible," &c., &c.

The Chair was taken by SIR EDMUND A. H. LECHMERE, Bart., M.P.

Mr. JAMES GLAISHER having briefly introduced the Chairman to the meeting,

The CHAIRMAN said: Ladies and gentlemen, I can assure you I feel highly honoured by the request made to me by the Committee of this Society that I should take the Chair on this occasion; but I feel that I am very unworthy of the position which I have been called upon to hold, looking to the fact that the Chair on these occasions has been held by gentlemen who have proved themselves much more proficient in the history and antiquities of Assyria, Palestine, and Jerusalem than I can profess to be. I have, accompanied by my wife, visited Jerusalem on four occasions, and it is quite impossible for anybody to pay even one visit to Jerusalem without feeling the deepest interest in that locality and desiring to hear and to know more about it. I can only say, although we have been there four times, it is our earnest desire and hope that we

may re-visit it, at any rate once again in the course of our life-time. I am sorry to say that I have not had the time to devote to the antiquities and Biblical history of the country which, as a member of this Society, I would wish to have. My attention has rather been given to the necessity of something being done to mitigate the miseries endured by its population in consequence of the prevalence of diseases of all sorts and of a most serious nature. We have had the pleasure of seeing a little ophthalmic hospital established at Jerusalem, and I trust that may be of lasting benefit to the country and a source of interest to all those who live in the Holy City. This Society, as you are well aware, is one devoted entirely to the pursuit of the scientific exploration of all those objects of interest in which Assyria and Jerusalem abound, and we are indeed indebted to the action taken by the Committee of this Society, both in the past and at the present time, for the enormous amount of interest which has been excited in the minds, not only of those who visit Jerusalem periodically but also in the minds of the population who, however deficient they may be in proper respect and veneration for these objects of antiquity, have learned, from the appreciation in which they are held by others, to estimate them at their proper value. Therefore I think the Society has been the means, not only of exploring and illustrating the country, but also of promoting the preservation of remains of inestimable value, which we trust may be, through its agency, preserved in time to come. We have had from time-to-time most interesting contributions to the history, ethnology, antiquities, and manners and customs of the people; and now we are to have to-day, from the lips of Canon Tristram, who, you are well aware, has no superior upon anything connected with

this subject, a contribution on the natural history of the country, illustrating its geology, and fauna, and flora. We are all looking forward with the greatest interest to his lecture, and I will not further detain you, except once more to express my own acknowledgments, in which I am sure you all join, to the Executive Committee of the Society for their continued efforts to do all they can to attract attention to the antiquities of the Holy Land. I will now call upon Canon Tristram to deliver the lecture to which we are all looking forward.

CANON TRISTRAM: In taking the subject of the natural history of Palestine, if we look upon the map of the Mediterranean region, it would not seem that there was anything very peculiar in Palestine, more than in any other country bordering on the Mediterranean, perhaps rather less; and yet it is a fact that, apart from its sacred and historical interest, there is no country in the world which presents such a unique field for the naturalist. In Palestine we have, gathered, focussed, in one little narrow corner, specimens from every part of the whole world. In fact, when we are in one part of Palestine we find ourselves in an Alpine region; and in another part we find ourselves in a tropical outlier, in the Jordan Valley. The fact is that there is no spot in the world, that I am aware of, where you can bring together so closely the animals, the birds, the insects, the land shells, and the plants of the far north, of the tropics, and what we call the

Germanic region—the Temperate Zone. The reason of it is this. Palestine, in the first place, possesses lofty mountains. The peaks, which reach about ten thousand feet in height, are covered with all but perpetual snow. I have waded through snow on the top of Mount Hermon in the month of August. From those two mountain ranges, the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, or Hermon, which are a splitting of the great Syrian range which comes down from the gates of Syria, you have first a long range, gradually diminishing in elevation, but flattening and broadening out, which forms, in succession, the Highlands of Galilee, Samaria, and Judea. Then, on the other side, you have Mount Hermon running down into Bashan, and flattening out again, whilst the prolongation of Lebanon is lost in the plateau of the Tih, as it is called.

Between these two ranges you have a phenomenon unique on the earth's surface. You have a deep fissure, a rent, the surface of which is about 1,300 feet below the level of the sea, known in the Hebrew as Ciccar, by the natives, as the Ghor, and by ourselves as the Jordan Valley. You find a tropical climate all round the Red Sea and in the lower Jordan Valley. The result is whilst I am standing under Banias, at Tell Kadi, the ancient Laish, or Dan, I can look up and see the snow-clad top of Hermon, with its bears and Alpine plants and birds. I am standing about 200 feet below the level

of the sea, with papyrus waving round me. I look down into the Jordan Valley, into a region peopled by semi-tropical plants and animals, whilst in the middle of the whole country and in the plains are what are called the Germanic fauna and flora, that is, the same as in the Mediterranean countries. But nowhere else can you find brought so closely together the animal and vegetable life of the three great regions of the west. The horizontal view and the superficial view together enable us to see at once how we can obtain specimens of all kinds of life within almost a day's walk. For instance, I have camped in the Jordan Valley under Gilead. One night I have camped under the date-palms in the plains of Shittim, and then we rode up through the thickets of the false balm of Gilead, the arbutus, the oleaster, the wild olive, the ilex and Turkey oak in succession ; and at night we camped under Scotch firs on the summit of Gilead. I suppose there is hardly another place in the world where you could do that. You cannot do it in the Himalayas, because the base is so very far from the sea, whilst Hermon and Lebanon spring from their base almost direct from the sea. Now you must remember, too, that the areas of animal life and vegetable life are circumscribed by deserts rather than by seas. Whether they be living things, or whether they be seeds, they seem to be carried much more easily across seas than

across deserts, so that Palestine is very much shut out from any connection with the far east by the great Syrian desert; or with the life of Egypt and Nubia, by the Arabian desert; but it is perfectly evident that all the life of the coast region has been derived from the neighbouring countries of the Mediterranean. I should like to say a little about the four distinct faunas and floras which this unique phenomenon of depression and elevation close together has produced. There are the fauna and flora first of all, on the coast and highlands that are the most familiar and most recent. Then there is the flora and fauna of the desert, taking Southern Judea and the east side of Jordan; then there is the flora and fauna of the Jordan Valley; and fourthly just a remnant left of the Alpine flora and fauna on the top of Hermon and Lebanon. But how comes it that the fauna and flora of the Jordan Valley should be identical in many cases, and in all others very similar, to the flora and fauna of Southern India and of Nubia and Abyssinia? That is a question of geographical distribution which has puzzled many people.

I feel that the natural history of that country has a good right to its place on the platform of the Palestine Exploration Fund, because I think that it had some little to do with the origin of this fund. Whilst I was writing, more than thirty years

ago, for Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, it came to my lot to have to write something upon the fishes of the Sea of Galilee. I found there was not a specimen of a fish from the Sea of Galilee in any museum in Europe or America. I asked one of the most distinguished naturalists of the day, "Do you know anything about the fishes of the Sea of Galilee or Jordan?" I said, "I am ashamed to say I have eaten them and thought them poor eating, but I never thought of preserving them." "Oh," he said, "you may be quite safe. We know the fishes of the Orontes and the fishes of the Euphrates. You may be quite safe in presuming they are the same." "Well, but," I said, "the Jordan has not an outlet into the Mediterranean or Indian Ocean, and I do not like to take anything for granted." The result was I wrote my article and got over the question somehow or another, but I did not feel satisfied about it, and very shortly afterwards I had my suspicions aroused by the fact of having taken an ordinary tour, a mere six weeks' run in the country in the year 1857 or 1858. I gathered one or two plants, and I shot three or four birds near the Dead Sea, one of which was new, and which the naturalists have done me the honour to name after me, and which according to the laws of distribution had no business there, a grakle (*Amydrus tristrami*). There was also a little dwarf desert partridge, which

ought to have been in Abyssinia. This set me thinking, and the result was that in the years 1862 and 1863 I went out to the country for a year, and examined the whole country thoroughly as a naturalist. I do not think there are many hills or valleys of Palestine I have not examined in my four visits to the country. I came back and talked the matter over with my old friend and colleague Sir George Grove, and the late Dean Stanley. We then went to the Archbishop of York, the noble Archbishop Thomson, and the Palestine Exploration Fund was started. Now, I am not here to-day to say anything about the antiquities and history of the country, but to show how much there was in that question of the Jordan Valley.

I walked from the mouth of the Jordan right round the Dead Sea, and I found a great deal to repay me on both sides. Strange to say, in that little narrow strip on the west side and on the east side of the sea you find very different kinds of plants and animals, the reason being that there is abundant water on the east side, but not on the west. There are masses of sulphur on the east side, and many singular plants belonging to the family of Asclepiads, grotesque and extraordinary looking plants with yellow roots, like sticks of rhubarb; yellow stems, yellow bark, yellow leaves, yellow blossoms and seeds—everything yellow, and growing on what appears to be simply a deposit

of pure sulphur. We find on these a number of butterflies and Orthoptera, clearly Nubian and Abyssinian in their character. I discovered fourteen birds that were not known in the European or Western fauna. Seven of them were new species. My nightjar has been found since by Mr. Jesse accompanying Lord Napier's expedition to Abyssinia. But some of these birds are identical with species that are found in Southern India. There is a bird, a very brilliant kingfisher, which is found in the Jordan Valley only of Palestine, and not found in any other part of the Mediterranean region. The nearest place in which it is found elsewhere is Madras and the island of Ceylon and the south of India—not central or Northern India. By the side of that is this bird, Tristram's grakle, which is very closely allied to birds from central and tropical Africa. Then there is a little sun-bird which many people mistake for a humming-bird, with which it has nothing to do. No species has ever been found identical with it elsewhere. It is confined to that little region, but it is not far removed from some African and Indian species. It is called *Cinnyris oseæ*. It is needless to go on with these, but in different forms of life, which have not great powers of flight, we found peculiar species, or species identical with those that are found in no intervening region until we get into the Asiatic or African tropics.

The same holds true of the plants, and of the land

shells, which modify more rapidly than any other form of life; but when we come to the fishes, to my astonishment, I think I got about twenty-seven kinds of fish in the Jordan and its affluents, and in the Sea of Galilee. And Mons. Lortet, the French naturalist, who has been there since, added ten more species, so that there are thirty-seven species known of the fishes of the lake. The curious thing is this; that though you have the Jordan springing a few hundred yards from the Orontes, in the plain of Syria, you are scarcely conscious you have passed from the water-shed of the one to the water-shed of the other. Yet there is hardly a fish in the river Jordan, and in the Sea of Tiberias, identical with those of the Orontes. There is one species of Silurus mentioned by Josephus in the Sea of Galilee, which Dr. Gunther considers distinct from that of the Nile, *Clarias macracanthus*. Some other fishes belong to a new genus (*Hemichromis*), which was based by Dr. Gunther on a little fish that I had brought home some years previously, from a salt lake in the Sahara. We found many others of that genus and of *Chromis* there, something like seventeen altogether. These fishes belong to a group essentially tropical and essentially African; there is nothing Asiatic about them. Fishes very closely allied to them, and evidently modifications of the same original, are found in all the great African lakes, the Nyassa, the

Nyanza, and the Tanganyika. Livingstone found them on the Tanganyika, and he mentions having caught a fish, out of the gills and mouth of which rushed hundreds of small fish, not larger than tadpoles, when the fish was landed. That is a fact not known at all in other fishes. I noticed the same thing on the plain of Gennesareth ; but the fishes that had these young ones in their mouth and gills were the males, not the females. Lortet carried on his observations still further. He found that the female fish goes up from the Lake of Galilee into some little streams where there are soft mud banks, and she rubs, with her fins, backwards and forwards, until she has cut a niche in the side of the bank. There she deposits her spawn and leaves it. The male comes, deposits his milt, and watches until the spawn is hatched, when he takes care of the young ones until they are old enough to take care of themselves. When alarmed, he opens his mouth and they rush by the hundred into his mouth and gills. This habit is absolutely unparalleled amongst any other family of fishes in the world. But you find it the same in Tanganyika and in the Sea of Galilee. Now for the conclusions from all this. Here is the heavy flying kingfisher, *Halcyon smyrnensis*. How did that bird ever get from Madras or Ceylon to the Jordan Valley? How did that little sun-bird ever get from tropical Africa? My explanation is this. Geologically it is

clear that the formation of the Jordan Valley as an exceptional depression dates from the Miocene period. The chalk which covers all the hills of Central Palestine is Miocene. Very often it is missing from denudation, but on the tops of the hills you will always find Miocene chalk. The glacial epoch has clearly come as far as this, because we trace moraines in the Lebanon, and the celebrated group of the cedars of Lebanon stands itself on a moraine, *i.e.*, a collection of *débris* and rocks and stone deposited at the mouth of an ancient glacier, such as we see in Switzerland and Norway now. The configuration of the country was utterly different in the Miocene period from what it is now, whilst this part of the country was under water. But after its elevation came the glacial epoch. Before that period, in the warm Tertiary period, the animals of warmer climates, birds, plants, quadrupeds, and reptiles, spread all over the whole of the belt of country, from India to Africa; and then, when the gradual elevation, with the desiccation of the Sahara ocean or rather sea, proceeded, there was a period of intense cold; but this Jordan Valley depression, though it became very much colder than it had ever been before, still was relatively as much hotter than the surrounding region as it is now. So in the struggle for existence a few of the animals, a sprinkling of the hardiest of them, contrived to survive during that epoch, and

they have survived ; and isolated from their fellows, some have become modified through isolation and changed into new species ; others have remained, like that kingfisher, perfectly identical with its parent stock, or like that partridge ; and so with the plants. But about the fishes? Those fishes seem to me to tell a story. The only way that I can conceive of accounting for the existence of that great family, or three or four different families of fishes in the Galilean lake, and in the Jordan, and in its different affluents, which are found nowhere else, is this: that the waters of Merom or Huleh, the Lake of Galilee, and the Dead Sea, were the northernmost of a great chain of lakes, of which the Red Sea and the Nile Valley were two, forming with the Nyanza, the Nyassa, and Tanganyika, a great chain of lakes of the Miocene period, which answered exactly to the great chain in North America which runs from Winnipeg to Ontario. Accept that theory, and then you understand how these fishes in the Tanganyika and Nyassa and Nyanza are allied to the fishes of the Jordan basin. It is unnecessary to go into the details of the birds and animals, but the whole of the peculiar species, the bush warblers, the nightjar, partridge, kingfisher, and sun-bird, are all of them non-migrants. If you were to go down to the Dead Sea to collect birds, you would find, in winter, other birds in plenty, exactly as elsewhere, but they

are migratory birds; or others, like the sparrow, which is quite as much at home there as in the streets of London.

Of the plants in the Jordan Valley and around the Dead Sea, there were nine Indian species and seventy-three African. I do not see how you can account for the fact of our having a very large proportion of African fishes and life, and a smaller, but still very perceptible, proportion of Indian life, excepting by supposing that there was a time when these forms extended from India to Africa in the Miocene period. I will speak presently of the desert and the desert fauna and flora, which is exceedingly interesting, but it is not peculiar; but I am sorry to say that animals are now very rare that have evidently formerly been common. Of the mountain fauna, I found the bones and teeth in Lebanon of many extinct animals. Amongst others, not the least interesting were traces of the Re'em, as it is called in Hebrew, translated unicorn, or wild bull, the aurochs, which Cæsar described, and which, in an earlier period, spread over the whole of Europe and Central and Northern Asia. In the bone caverns in Lebanon, and below Lebanon, along with quantities of flint implements and bones, I found quantities of teeth, which Mr. Dawkins identified for me as of the old aurochs, the extinct bison. It is alluded to in the earlier books of the Bible, but not after the time of David. Except in one poetical passage, the word "Re'em"

never occurs again. Coincidentally with this, in the tablets in Nineveh, describing the hunting feats of the kings of the earlier dynasty, the grand game that the king hunted was the aurochs, the Re'em, but in the later Assyrian Empire, from just about the time of David, from about 1000 B.C., we do not find in any Assyrian or Babylonian tablet or sculpture a single trace of the Re'em, or wild ox. Population had increased, and it had become extinct. We also find in Lebanon, showing what the climate has been, co-existent with man, the bones and the teeth of the elk, the reindeer, and also of the red deer, though certainly of a small form (and I am not quite certain that it may not still linger on in some of the countries about the head waters of the Euphrates); showing that there was a period when, subsequent to the Miocene period, the country had had a climate like that of Sweden or Norway.

The present life of the rest of the country is similar to that of the neighbouring Mediterranean region. I made a catalogue of about 1,800 plants from the Holy Land, of which the great bulk belong to what is called the Germanic flora; but when you get on to Lebanon there is another flora. The *astragali* and the clovers are very closely allied. I have made out about fifty clovers and about seventy *astragali*, but the curious thing is this, that the *astragali* are nearly all identical with, or very closely allied

to, the *astragali* of the lower ranges of the Himalayas, or Afghanistan, whilst the clovers are nearly all the same as the Central European clovers. Generally the *astragali* are higher up in Lebanon, and the clovers on the plains and on the lower hills of Judea. Clearly, then, somehow or other, plant life, like bird life, has come westward in the form of the *astragalus*, because this is more an Asiatic than a European family, whilst the *trifolium*, or clover, is very thoroughly a European family. Probably in the earlier period the higher land was supplied with *astragali* from Afghanistan and the mountains of the South Caspian, while at a later period all the plain country was supplied with our clovers from the Germanic flora. Then all the land shells of the Holy Land are nearly all of them peculiar, but of course land shells have very limited areas generally. There are certain shells which are identical all over the world, but the small shells, as the *clausiliæ*, are peculiar. Out of about thirty, with the exception of half a dozen, all are peculiar to the country. But they are all similar to the Germanic, our present fauna, in temperate and Southern Europe. With regard to some of the commoner animals of Central Palestine, the plain country, and Judea, Samaria, and Galilee—not the mountains—there are very interesting exceptions. There are some beautiful lessons in the gradual modification of species.

You all know our jay. It is marked by the brilliant blue feathers and the black bars on the secondaries of the wings. The Palestine jay has the voice, the nest, and the habits of ours exactly. But there is just this difference; the crest is black, while ours has the crest black and white striped. I go into Asia Minor, a little further west, and there the back of the head is black with a white forehead; but you never find any intermediate varieties, and the distinction holds good in all individuals in those countries. Here is a species—I should call it, rather, an incipient species. There are various other modifications of the same kind. The chukar partridge, of India, is well known. There is a partridge in the Holy Land—in the desert rather—which is the Indian chukar, and nothing else, simply paler from being in a drier country. Next, what do we find peculiar on the tops of the mountains that carry us to the Alps? I remember the first animal I caught on the top of Hermon was a small mountain vole, like a water-rat. It ran among the snow, and was caught under a stone. Now that vole is found on the tops of the Carpathians, the Appenines and the Alps, just on the tops of the hills, and nowhere else. It has since been got on the top of Jebel Sunnin, in Lebanon. I saw a brown bear on the top of Hermon, quietly sunning himself. Those, you will agree with me, are two very decidedly Alpine specimens. Then I found the snowfinch of

the Alps, and also what I took at the time for the horned lark of Lapland (*Otocoris alpestris*). It is a lark with feathered ear tufts and black marks about the head, a very handsome bird, which is peculiar to the shores of the northern seas, and a very rare visitor to England in winter; this one, which is called *Otocoris penicillata*, slightly different, is found only on the Caucasus and Lebanon; but, in winter, it goes lower down to feed near the villages, just at the edge of the snow, and its migrations are only vertical; and this is the case with the snowfinch and with the other Alpine birds. I also obtained there the Alpine chough, which is certainly not a migratory bird. Now those birds must have got there at a time when the whole climate was the same, from the Appenines to the Himalayas. Well, the world has become much warmer since then, and those birds and animals and plants have all perished from the intermediate country, excepting from these isolated heights, where, and where alone, they are found. It is impossible to suppose that such a creature as that little vole could have migrated from the Carpathians, or from the Alps to Lebanon. I forgot to mention one very interesting fact. By the waters of Merom, or Huleh, there is for about seven miles a mass of papyrus. The papyrus is extinct in Egypt. You cannot find it south of Wady Halfa. I doubt whether you will find it until you get to Gondokoro; but it abounds here, and

there is a large mass of it also close to the ancient Bethsaida.

One word upon the desert fauna and flora. There we have one or two very interesting facts bearing on the distribution of life. You have there, all the different antelopes which are mentioned, in the book of Deuteronomy as amongst the clean beasts, but which are not mentioned in Leviticus, the reason evidently being that Deuteronomy was written at the end of the journeys in the wilderness, where for thirty-eight years they were familiar with these creatures, whereas when they came out of Egypt, where none of those antelopes ever did or could live, they knew nothing about them. I think this mention of the desert animals is one of the strongest pieces of evidence in favour of the authenticity of the book of Deuteronomy. Among the animals there named is the wild goat, the Syrian ibex, it ought to be called the ibex of Arabia, or Sinai. It is quite distinct from the ibex of the Alps or that of the Himalayas. Then there is the coney of Scripture, which is still to be found on both sides of the Dead Sea. The coney or *Hyrax* is of a peculiar African genus. There is one species at the Cape, and others in Central East Africa. It is little larger than a rabbit with very short ears. It has paws, no claws, but nails like little dwarfed human nails, and the teeth of a hippopotamus, it is a little pachyderm, and its next relations anatomically

are the elephant, rhinoceros, and the hippopotamus. It has a very soft fur, and lives in the rocks, is exceedingly sociable, very wary, has most interesting habits, and unless we accept the theory as the story of the Glacial epoch supervening on the Miocene period, it is difficult to understand how the coney reached Mount Sinai and the Dead Sea, and nowhere else beyond tropical Africa.

Such is the general outline of the natural history of the Holy Land. I hope I have said enough to show that it well repays examination and research. I have not attempted to go into details. Those of you who are fond of details will find them in a quarto which the Palestine Exploration Fund has published on the fauna and flora of Palestine, with careful lists of all of them, and figures of many new creatures, especially of some extraordinary little mice round the Dead Sea, which are like little cream-coloured hedgehogs, and also several species of jerboa, gerbilles, and ground squirrels, which probably by further research will be found in the Arabian Desert. But the country now is very destitute of life in comparison with former times, and we may ask why? Natural causes have done it all. It has been simply the destruction of the trees. There is no physical reason why Judah should not again bind his foal to the vine, why Jericho should not again be a city of palm trees, and why the sugar-cane should not again grow in the

Jordan Valley, and the camphire perfume the slopes of Engedi. There is no reason why the merchants of Phœnicia should not again freight their cargoes from the maritime plain. There is no reason why the fleeces of Moab and the wines of Helbon should not be quoted again in the markets of the world, why Gilead should not again rival spicy Arabia with its balsam now extinct. There is only one cause for the present state of the country—prophecy has been fulfilled simply by man's ignorant action. The cutting down of the timber, the denudation of the country from generation to generation, has turned aside the rainfall, and if the land were only planted again, there is no reason why the glory of Lebanon should not come again and with it the fir tree, the pine, and the box together. Then the rivers will be opened and fountains in the midst of the valleys. Then the wilderness will be a pool of water and the dry land springs of water. It will be so. When the wilderness has been planted, and the cedar replanted in Lebanon, and the acacia (the shittah tree) in the Jordan Valley; when the myrtle, and the oil-tree, and the olive have been put in their right places again, then indeed we may see that country what it was once, a land flowing with milk and honey.

APPENDIX.

IN my lecture I had no intention of doing more than giving a sketch of the general features of the Natural History of Palestine. It may be of use to mention a few of the most interesting or important species which now exist or have formerly existed in that country. Carnivorous animals are very few, owing, not to the density of the population, but rather to the absence of cover from the destruction of timber. Besides the brown bear, already mentioned as found on Hermon, and which also still exists in Lebanon, and in ancient times inhabited the whole country, concealing itself in the woods, as shown by the histories of David and Elisha ; the lion existed down to the time of the Crusades. After that period we find no mention of it. In the early years of the present century a lion was brought into the market of Damascus, but now it is extinct west of the Euphrates. The leopard is still found, though rarely, in various parts of the country. I obtained it on Carmel, in the woods north of Tabor, and in Bashan. The cheetah, or hunting-leopard (*Felis jubata*) is now frequent, but is not ordinarily tamed for the chase, as in India. The skins of those that I procured had

long woolly fur, and differed from the Indian skins, as the woolly tiger of the Corea differs from the Bengal tiger. A lynx is also found, and several smaller species of the cat tribe are not uncommon, as *Felis chaus*, which is almost a lynx, and *Felis maniculata*, the Egyptian wild cat. The striped hyæna is very common everywhere. The wolf, the same as the European species, is common, but generally solitary. The jackal, usually termed "fox" in our version is nightly heard round towns, in villages, fields, or wilderness, as it hunts in packs wailing and howling. The tawny fox and the smaller Egyptian fox, often not discriminated from the jackal, are common, with the same habits as our English fox. The badger, otter, pole-cat, martin-cat, and southern weasel all occur in suitable localities, while the genet is rare, and the ichneumon (*Herpestes ichneumon*) is very common about the hills in all parts of the country. The wild boar is very abundant wherever there is cover, as in the Jordan valley, and in all the wooded wadys and swamps. It is very destructive to the crops.

The *Hyrax*, the coney of our version, in Arabic *Tŭbsoon* or *Wabr*, has been mentioned in the lecture.

Of ruminants, beyond the domestic animals, there are but few. The extinct aurochs or bison has been already mentioned. Of the deer tribe we have found only the roebuck and the fallow deer, both on the

verge of extinction. The bone caverns show that the elk, red deer, and reindeer were once plentiful.

The antelope family are better represented. The common gazelle (*Gazella dorcas*), the "roebuck" of our version, is abundant and widespread. I have seen it even on the Mount of Olives. A larger species (*Gazella arabica*) takes its place on the east of Jordan. The bubale (*Antilope bubalis*), "the wild cow," *Bekk'r el wash* of the Arabs; the Addax antelope, with its twisted horns, the *Strepsicoros* of Pliny, the "pygarg" of our version; and the white antelope (*Antilope leucoryx*) or oryx, are all three desert inhabitants, mentioned in the Pentateuch, and which occur, though rarely, on the southern and eastern edge of the land. But the wild goat of Scripture, *Capra beden*, the beden of the Arabs, the most graceful and beautiful of all the Ibex family, is still found in the mountain fastnesses on both sides of the Jordan. I obtained it near Engedi, and several times in Moab, where we saw it daily. It is still more abundant in Sinai.

The rodents are very numerous, both in species and individuals. The porcupine is common in all the rocky glens, and though seldom seen, from its nocturnal habits, betrays its neighbourhood by the number of shed quills to be found. There are four species of true hare—*Lepus syriacus*, nearly the size of our English hare, but with rather shorter ears,

found in all the cultivated and wooded districts. The smaller Egyptian hare is its representative in the Jordan valley of Southern Judæa, while in the sandy desert occurs the Indian hare—*Lepus isabellinus*, and in the north-east of Bashan another species —*Lepus judææ*, very like if not identical with a Persian species. The curious porcupine mice, of which three species occur, have already been mentioned. There are at least half a dozen species of field mice and four of hamsters, which are very common, and build their large nests in palm trees and bushes. Of gerbilles and sand rats (*Psammomys*) there are six species, and four of field voles, including the Alpine *Arvicola nivalis* already mentioned.

In the Jordan valley and in the southern desert are three species of jerboa, some very abundant. In the eastern uplands a large species of marmot or pouched rat is very common, burrowing on the plains, and feeding only at night (*Spermophilus xanthoprymnus*). The Syrian squirrel is extremely abundant in the wooded districts of the north. Three species of dormouse are found: the great dormouse (*Myoxus glis*) makes its nest in every dôm tree in the Jordan valley. One of the most beautiful of rodents is a little ground or rock-squirrel, silver-grey above and white beneath, with black tail and black bar along each side of the face (*Eliomys melanurus*) which we found only among ruins east of Moab. No true mole occurs in Pales-

tine, but a rodent resembling it somewhat in outward form (*Spalax typhlus*) the mole rat, without external eyes, and with the habits of a mole. It lives on roots, chiefly wild onions, garlics, and other bulbous roots.

One fruit-eating bat and sixteen species of true bats have been collected in Palestine, including four tropical species in the Jordan valley.

Altogether the list of mammalia known from Palestine contains 113 species.

Three hundred and sixty species of birds have been recorded from Palestine, and by the inclusion of stragglers from time to time, the number might be indefinitely extended. The most remarkable of these have been mentioned in the lecture. The catalogue comprises, as might have been expected, nearly all the birds of the Mediterranean countries and of central and southern Europe, especially the summer migrants. The Hebrew character was not one of discriminating observance with respect to objects of natural history, and consequently with the exception of raptorial birds, very few are referred to, excepting generally, in Scripture. Of birds of prey there are many species in the country, and they form a constant feature in the landscapes. The grandest of all birds in its flight is the lammergeyer, or bearded vulture, the ossifrage of our version, and the geier eagle of the Revisers. It may generally be seen sailing in

solitary state about the eastern mountains of Palestine. The griffon is to be seen everywhere, and often in considerable numbers. It is the *nis'r* of the Arabs (Hebrew, *nesher*) but is translated eagle in our version. It is a magnificent and stately, anything but an ignoble, bird; and very different from the Egyptian vulture, or Pharaoh's hen, the familiar if repulsive scavenger of the East (*Neophron percnopterus*) the "gier-eagle" of the Authorised, "vulture" of the Revised Version. The red, black, and Egyptian kites, buzzards of three species, the osprey, eight species of eagle, viz., the imperial, golden, spotted, nipalese, tawny, short-toed, booted, and Bonelli's eagle, are all found in different parts of the country, and several are mentioned in the list of unclean birds in the Pentateuch, though there is some difficulty as to the exact identification of the species intended. Two species of kestrel, three of buzzards, two of sparrow hawk, and the hobby and the merlin are not uncommon.

The *Strigidæ*, or owl family, are largely represented in Palestine. The most abundant and familiar is the southern little owl (*Athene meridionalis*), the same which was the national badge of Athens, and is impressed on her coins, the "Boomah" of the Arabs—a comical little fellow—to be seen in the evening perched at the mouth of wells, or on walls, bowing and keeping time gravely to the sound of his

own music. Our four English familiar species, the barn, tawny, eared, and short-eared owls are all to be found, as well as the southern eagle owl (*Bubo ascalaphus*) and the Indian great fishing owl (*Ketupa ceylonensis*) especially interesting, as showing the extension westward of a strictly South Indian species, not known to occur in the intervening region.

Few of the passerine birds demand any special notice, beyond the references to them in the lecture. The raven is very abundant, both our species, and several other semi-tropical ones—as *Corvus umbrinus*, the brown-necked raven, about Jerusalem, and the wedge-tailed raven (*Corvus affinis*) an African species, with a musical note instead of a croak, in the neighbourhood of the Dead Sea. Few of the smaller birds are mentioned in Scripture, and all are included under the Hebrew *tzippor*, translated "sparrow." "The sparrow that sitteth alone upon the house-top" is probably the blue thrush (*Monticola cyanus*), the habits of which are thus exactly described. The only other small bird distinctly alluded to in Scripture is the swallow, identical with our species. The larks, pipits, chats, and warblers of many species abound in the hill country and the wilderness of Jordan. Of the song birds peculiar to the country, the most noticeable is the bulbul, or yellow-crested thrush (*Pycnonotus xanthopygius*) commonly taken for the nightingale, whose song it rivals. It is distinct

from the many other African and Indian species of the family. All the migratory song birds of Britain occur in Palestine, either as residents or winter visitants.

The pigeons and doves are in amazing numbers especially in the Jordan valley. The rock dove, wood pigeon, and stock dove, and the turtle dove, are common, the latter only a summer resident, arriving in myriads in the spring. The collared turtle (*Turtur risorius*) and the Senegal dove are permanent residents in the Jordan valley, and other warmer parts of the country. Of game birds the chukar red-legged partridge, the same as the Indian bird, is found everywhere; the Francolin (*Francolinus vulgaris*) in the swamps; the sand partridge (*Ammoperdix heyi*) in the desert and rocky districts of the south, as well as in the Jordan valley, while the common quail is abundant in spring and summer throughout the country. The Houbara bustard is rare in the Jordan valley and on the plains of Moab. The stork is universally distributed in spring and summer. In winter nearly all the plovers, sandpipers, and other waders may be found, including woodcock and snipe, and also the mute swan, all the south European ducks, and a few wild geese. The pelican frequents the Lake of Gennesaret and the coast. The ostrich is now only found in the Arabian desert.

Of reptilia, I collected thirty-three species of snakes.

The most interesting are the poisonous Indian viper (*Daboia xanthina*) a genus peculiar to India, and not found in Africa. The horned cerastes (*Cerastes hasselquistii*) and the deadly hooded cobra (*Naja haje*) are also found, though rare. Most of the other snakes are harmless, common, and some of them of great beauty. A few of the species have not been found beyond the limits of Palestine. Others belong also to South Europe, Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, and Persia.

The lizards are still more numerous. I have recorded forty-four species, including the large land and water monitors, the Egyptian skink, the common gecko (*Stellio cordylina*) the mastiguer (*Uromastix spinipes*) and the chameleon.

The Egyptian crocodile still lingers in one corner of Palestine, at the north-east corner of the Plain of Sharon, under Carmel, in the marshes of the Wady Zerka, or Crocodile River. One was brought to me measuring 11 feet 6 inches. I still possess its head and bones. This is the only spot beyond the limits of Africa where it is found.

Land and water tortoises of seven species abound. Two species of toads and three of frog are known, including the common tree frog.

Of the forty-three species of fresh water fishes recorded from Palestine, the following belong exclusively to the Jordan system and its lakes :—

Blennius varus. Also about the mouths of Mediterranean rivers.

Blennius lupulus. Also about the mouths of Mediterranean rivers.

Chromis niloticus. Found also in the Nile.

Chromis tiberiadis. Peculiar.

Chromis andreæ. Peculiar.

Chromis simonis. Peculiar.

Chromis flavii-josephi. Peculiar.

Chromis microstomus. Peculiar.

Chromis magdalenæ. Found also in the Damascus lakes.

Hemichromis sacra. Peculiar.

Clarias macracanthus. The Silurus. This species is found also in the Upper Nile and the African lakes, but differs from the species of the Lower Nile, *Clarias anguillaris.*

Cyprinodon dispar. Peculiar.

Cyprinodon cypris. Also in the Damascus lakes and the Tigris.

Cyprinodon mento. Also in the Tigris.

Cyprinodon sophiæ. Also in salt springs in Persia.

Discognathus lamta. This carp has a wide range, but is strictly Asiatic, not African.

Capoeta damascina. Also found in Mediterranean streamlets.

Capoeta syriaca. Found also in the Euphrates.

Capoeta socialis. Peculiar.

Capoeta amir. Found also in Mediterranean streamlets.

Capoeta sauvagii. Peculiar. Only found in the Lake of Galilee at a great depth.

Barbus canis. Peculiar.

Barbus beddomii. Peculiar.

Barbus longiceps. Peculiar.

Leuciscus zeregi. Found also in the Lake of Antioch.

Leuciscus lepidus. Also in the Tigris.

Alburnus sellal. Also in the Orontes.

Acanthobrama centisquama. Also in the Damascus lakes.

Nemachilus galilæus. Peculiar.

Nemachilus insignis. Peculiar.

Of land and fresh water shells of Palestine 213 species have been recognised. The greater number of these are peculiar to the country. The molluscan fauna of the coast and central regions possesses no features distinct from those of Asia Minor and Lower Egypt. In the Jordan Valley and the Judæan wilderness we meet with very distinct types of *Helix* and of *Bulimus*, chiefly peculiar, or in some few cases common to the Arabian desert. But the fluviatile mollusca are of a type very much more tropical in its character than that of the terrestrial shells. Of the *Unionidæ*, or fresh water mussels, there are no less than twenty-five species already

described, of which eighteen are peculiar to the Jordan and its lakes. Many of these are of very great beauty in the iridescence of their nacreous lining, and some of them are found only at great depths, such even as 100 fathoms.

The flora of Palestine is of exceptional wealth. I published 3,012 species in the Memoirs of the Survey of Western Palestine, to which many have since been added, *e.g.*, no less than 60 grasses, bringing the whole number of *Gramineæ* alone up to 216. It would be impossible in this Appendix to summarise the botany of the country, the general features of which have been touched on in the lecture. There are but few trees and plants mentioned in Scripture about which there can be any difficulty of identification. The chief of these are the almug or algum trees, probably the red sandalwood of India. The apple does not grow in Palestine, and the apricot is probably the fruit intended. The balm of Gilead is the *Balsamodendron gileadense*. The bulrush is really the papyrus. The camphire is now known as the henna (*Lawsonia inermis*) used for staining the finger nails. The hazel of our version is really the almond tree. The heath is the *Juniperus sabina*, or savin ; the juniper of our version is the beautiful retem bush (*Retama rætam*). The mandrake is known to botanists as *Mandragora officinalis*. "Nuts" probably denote pistachio nuts or walnut, our hazel being unknown.

The Hebrew word for lily is identical with the Arabic for the anemone, the most brilliant and conspicuous of all the floral beauties of spring. The rose of Sharon seems to be correctly identified with the sweet narcissus abundant on the Plain of Sharon. The shittim wood and shittah tree refer to the *Acacia seyal*, still to be found in the desert districts. The sycamine tree is the mulberry. The sycamore is the well-known *Ficus sycamorus*, well known and prized in the East for its dense shade. The willow by the watercourses can be none other than the oleander.

Sir Edmund A. H. Lechmere then said: Ladies and gentlemen, I have just been asking my friend on my left whether it is usual that any gentleman in the audience should rise to propose a vote of thanks. He told me that it is usual for the Chairman to do so. I should very much have preferred that some one else should address you, but as it is the custom on these occasions I feel bound to accept the duty, and in a few words I would venture to ask you to join with me in a very hearty expression of thanks to Canon Tristram for this most interesting address. I think the address original as well as interesting because I believe it is almost the first occasion when we have had a clear and full statement as to the natural history of Palestine, and I am very glad to think that we shall be able to read it at our leisure at some future time. I am sure I entirely concur with Canon Tristram, in expressing the hope that some of the younger ones amongst us may see Palestine in that happy state which he has shadowed forth. There is not the slightest doubt that its resources are some-

thing extraordinary, and those who travel there and visit the best parts of the country which were formerly cultivated, will see still remaining the ancient terraces for vines and other fruits. There is no doubt that the wine of Palestine may become quite equal to that of some of the best wine-producing countries of Europe. Canon Tristram alluded to the great want of water. That is mainly owing to the denudation of the country of timber. Every olive tree which is not very productive is cut down and converted into fuel, and unfortunately the rulers of the country have not been alive to the duty and the necessity of trying to stimulate the re-planting of the trees. Many travellers in Jerusalem know that little tract of land just at the foot of the pools of Solomon, which produces the finest fruits and vegetables of extraordinary size and dimensions. The cauliflowers and the radishes of Palestine will live in the recollection of all who have seen and eaten them. I was very much interested in an allusion by Canon Tristram to an animal which always puzzled me, and that was the coney of the Bible. I had always an idea that the conies of the Bible were very much allied to the marmots we find in Switzerland. I felt certain they were not of the rabbit nature. I am very glad to have heard the minute description which has been given of that interesting animal, which shows clearly that the coney of the Bible is quite distinct from the marmot, in fact, is more allied to the hippopotamus and the rhinoceros. I will beg to offer, on the part of the audience, our very hearty thanks to Canon Tristram for his admirable lecture, and I am sure we all join in the sincere hope that at no distant period that lecture will be printed and published.

THE

General Work of the Society.

BY

WALTER BESANT, M.A.,
Honorary Secretary.

The Chair was taken by JAMES GLAISHER, Esq., F.R.S.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, no word from me is necessary to introduce the lecturer to-day (hear, hear) for wherever the English language is spoken he is known, and known well. But I may take this opportunity to state that for twenty years or more he was Secretary to this Society, and in the last four years its Hon. Secretary. There has not been an identification made, not a discovery of any kind, nothing whatever in any one of the sources of inquiry we have made but what he has known. There is no one whom I know so well qualified to speak upon the General Work of the Society as Mr. Besant; he knows every detail connected with it. Without another word, I will ask him to begin his lecture.

MR. WALTER BESANT: It is now twenty-five years since by fortunate accident (that of being for the moment one of the unemployed) I became the Secretary of the Palestine Exploration Fund. For twenty of these years I continued to hold the

post of executive officer of the Society. For the last five years I have been honoured with the style and itle of Hon. Sec., though the active duties of the post have devolved upon Mr. George Armstrong, whose connection with the Society has been of a duration almost equal to my own. Twenty-five years is a large —a very large—part of our brief life. There is time in a quarter of a century for a great deal of work and for many experiences. There is time for a man to make friends and enemies, to show his strength and his weakness, to succeed or to fail. In the case of such a Society as ours, there is time to prove its cause, whether it is a sound and good cause, useful to the world, wanted by the world, whether it can do sound and good and lasting work: whether, in short, it was founded with an object worthy the attention of serious men and whether it deserves to live and to carry on its work. These questions, with regard to our Society, I propose to answer this afternoon. I will enter into a retrospect and I will venture upon a forecast.

The Society was founded in the year 1865. The time of foundation was extremely favourable for the launching of such an association. The appearance of a new Dictionary of the Bible, written by the foremost scholars in the country; of several very remarkable books on the Holy Land—that, for instance, of Dean Stanley and that of George Williams; the recent researches of Dr. Robinson; the controversy raging over

the holy sites; all these things together were strongly directing the attention of the world to the Holy Land. It was realised that our knowledge of the country was in every respect defective—that it was shallow, inexact, and full of gaps; that there was no map of scientific value; that the modern names had yet to be collected; that the ancient traditions were dying out before they had been set down; that of the people we knew nothing, and of the ruins next to nothing. All this could never have been brought home to the minds of the people but for these fortuitous—or Providential—causes all working together.

Then, again, the Society was extremely fortunate in its founders. Dean Stanley was a pillar of strength. Mr. Fergusson was a man of a fiery and ardent temperament, an innovator, distrustful of tradition, an advocate of new theories, a special pleader. George Williams represented authority and tradition, the old beliefs, the old legends. What was more, he represented the University of Cambridge. When the first appeal was made for funds, there was an immediate and a splendid response; it seemed as if the whole nation responded, from the Queen to the servant girl who saved her pence and sent them for the furtherance of the cause. That was the first answer to the first appeal. Such an answer has been repeated, though with less unanimity, to every subsequent appeal. Yet I doubt whether—were we now beginning the task—

we should receive support so wide, so universal, so generous as we received at first. You have seen the causes which made the time favourable to the project These causes no longer exist. Further, there has come upon us—I say this with deference—I advance the thing as my own opinion only, and perhaps it is a mistaken opinion—there has come upon us, I think, a great change in the study and in the treatment of the Old Testament. We have ceased, for instance, in a large measure, to hear sermons on the teachings of certain episodes in the Old Testament. Those who applied every episode in the life of David, say, to the conduct of our daily life are gone; the expounders of prophecy are nearly all gone; that passionate love for certain characters in the Old Testament which one remembers, seems now to linger only among a few; the admiration of the ancient Jew, which used to be combined with an unreasoning hatred of the modern Jew, is gone—with, one hopes, the hatred. I remember, for my own part, a time when the sermon in the morning was always upon one of the lessons of the day—an explanation and an application—generally the lesson from the Old Testament. But the sermon in the evening was always upon a text from the Epistles—a sermon of doctrine. Perhaps there has been less change in this respect than I imagine; but I think there has been this kind of change—a change in this direction—

and I think that were we to begin, to-day, the Survey of the Holy Land, we should have a very much smaller support, in proportion to our wealth and numbers, than we had in the year 1865, twenty-seven years ago. However this may be, we were then, I repeat, fortunate in the time for starting our enterprise; fortunate in the men who advocated it and launched it; fortunate in the support which we obtained.

We were again most fortunate in the Committee which was formed. The list of the whole General Committee from the beginning is almost a list of English worthies between the years 1865 and 1892. The names which adorn this list contain most of those who have adorned the last quarter of a century. Nor was it only their names that they gave. They sent large cheques, they took a serious and personal interest in the subject, they read all that we published, they called at the office to talk over the work. It seems to me, looking back, wonderful to think of the men with whom I have been in correspondence, whom I have received at the Society's rooms, to whom I have shown from time to time the diagrams and plans of our work, with whom I have discussed the meaning and the drift of the discoveries. I suppose that one may very reasonably congratulate oneself upon the privilege of conversing with the men who make a figure in the world. I think, for instance, of such leaders as

Lord Shaftesbury, Archbishop Thomson, Archbishop Tait, Sir Roderick Murchison, Sir William Tite, Earl Russell—who wrote me a letter only a few days before his death: I think of scholars—alas! so many of them are gone—such as Dean Stanley, Lord Strangford, Dean Milman, Dean Howson, Emanuel Deutsch, James Fergusson, George Williams, Professor Willis, Professor Rawlinson, Professor Sayce, Professor Neubauer, Dr. Ginsburg, Professor Bonney, Dr. Allon, Professor Palmer, George Smith, Professor Owen, Professor Pusey, Samuel Morley, Sir Gilbert Scott, Clermont Ganneau. I think of travellers, authors, men of science, such as Sir Arthur Layard, Sir Richard Burton, Palgrave, Tyrrwhitt Drake, Winwood Reade, Tristram, Dr. William Wright, Flinders Petrie, Laurence Oliphant, Hepworth Dixon, Professor Hull, and our respected Chairman, Mr. James Glaisher. I think of the officers who have carried out our work—they were young men when they came to us, and have since risen to great eminence—Sir Charles Wilson, Sir Charles Warren, Major Anderson, Major Conder, Colonel Kitchener.

I think, again, of the general supporters to the Fund, the Clergy, the men and women of culture, the humble enthusiasts—and I perceive clearly that there is not any other association in the whole country which could have offered to its Secretary such a noble chance of an acquaintance with the best and noblest

and foremost men of the time. It is, indeed, a fact of which we may be justly proud, that we have attracted, and that we continue to attract, the support and the confidence of the best and foremost men of our time since the first foundation of the Society.

We have also been most fortunate in our Executive Committee. You know our constitution. After long experience I am convinced that it is the very best constitution for such a Society as this, which must be carried on continuously on principles arrived at by experience, and therefore wants a Committee of continued existence. We have a General Committee which does nothing except meet once or twice a year. But from its members are chosen the members of the Executive Committee; every year these lay down their office; every year they are eligible for re-election; every year they are re-elected. Our Committee has worked together without resignations, without radical changes, from the foundation. Death has carried off some—our President, Archbishop Thomson, Mr. Culling Hanbury, once our Treasurer, the venerable Professor Donaldson, Mr. Hepworth Dixon, Mr. Vaux, Mr. Samuel Gurney, Mr. Fergusson, Mr. Abel Smith, and many others. Their places have been filled up; the Committee has known no dislocation by internal dissensions; its life has been perfectly, quietly, unhistorically continuous; its work has been carried

on without discord or disagreement—a thing which is almost unknown in the history of any other Society.

It has been, further, a Committee of specialists. That was necessary in our work. For architecture we have had James Fergusson, Professor Donaldson, and Professor Hayter Lewis; for numismatics we have had W. S. Vaux; for Semitic language and antiquities, Dr. Ginsburg; for meteorology, James Glaisher; for ancient art, William Simpson; for natural history, Canon Tristram; for linguists, Dr. William Wright and Prof. Edward Palmer; for travellers in Palestine we have had, among many others, Mr. Walter Morrison, Mr. Eaton, Mr. Holland, Mr. John Macgregor; for officers to advise us in matters military we have had Sir Charles Wilson, Sir Charles Warren, Colonel Grover, and Major Watson. Add to these that we have always been able to obtain the special advice and assistance of scholars such as Emanuel Deutsch, Neubauer, Ganneau, and Sayce, and you will acknowledge that from first to last the Society has been well and nobly backed.

Once more, we have been most fortunate in the officers who have carried out our work. It seems as if the best men in the highest branch of the Service had been chosen for us. Sir Charles Wilson, whose career has been one long triumphal march; Sir Charles Warren, as distinguished and as successful; Colonel

Kitchener, who surveyed Galilee and Cyprus, was Consul under Wilson in Asia Minor, Governor of Suakim, and is now Sirdar of the Egyptian Army; Major Conder, who has done the lion's share of the work for us, has written those admirable works which you all possess, and still works at the subject—the one name which will be always remembered first of all in connection with this great work; Major Anderson, who was struck down at the time when his scientific reputation was only just beginning; Professor Palmer, whose life and death have made him a scholar of romance; Clermont Ganneau, one of the most remarkable of Semitic scholars; Tyrrwhitt Drake, also cut off at the outset; Professor Hull, whose geological journey is fresh in your minds. These names are like a string of splendid pearls hanging on a golden thread. If it is a joy and a pride for these men to have worked for our Society, it should be, and it is, matter of the deepest satisfaction and gratitude for ourselves that we have enjoyed their services.

The money that we have raised and spent since the beginning now amounts to the very goodly sum of about £85,000, which has been spent in something like the following proportions:—On exploration expenses about sixty per cent., on management about fourteen per cent., on maps about fourteen per cent., and returned to subscribers in our Journals about

twelve per cent.; and the Society now possesses a considerable amount of property in collections, copyrights, maps, &c., besides being quite out of debt.

I should like to say a word about the raising of all this money, of which about £65,000 was obtained by myself. The secret of success in getting money is twofold. First, the cause itself, for which it is asked, must be such as to appeal to wide interests: what more widely popular than the recovery of the Ancient Land—the Holy Land? Next, those who ask for it must be beyond suspicion: paid people are not successful; there is little use in sending out circulars signed with the name of that disinterested person—the paid Secretary. Nor is there much money raised by putting advertisements in the papers; yet a Society must advertise or it will be forgotten. I discovered, very early in my official career, that the surest, the easiest, and the most creditable way of raising money was by means of unpaid honorary local secretaries. When a person who is wholly disinterested, who gains nothing for himself, takes up a cause and says to his friends, "Give me money for this work because it is a great and good work," then that cause is established. In this way the Society was maintained: in this way the large funds, sometimes amounting to £300 a month, were regularly found and sent out to our Officers. Of course there were times of tightness and even

anxiety. Then we were assisted by our Treasurer, who has not only given us hundreds of pounds, but has also lent us, without any interest, many, many hundreds of pounds when we were passing through these times of tightness. Let me relate one little anecdote of a very tight time. It was in the autumn of the year 1874, when we had two parties in the field, that of Captain Conder, which drew £200 a month, and that of Mr. Clermont Ganneau, which drew £100 a month. We had got through the summer with great difficulty ; and at the beginning of October I found myself with a very small balance at the bank and the bills were about to come in.

I applied to my usual resource, the Honorary Secretaries ; unfortunately, nearly all of them were away for their holidays. While I waited for their answers the expected bills arrived ; if the bank honoured them we should be £300 on the wrong side. Our Treasurer to whom I should naturally have gone, was, like our Honorary Secretaries, out of England. I had to go round among such of the Committee as were left in London, and to get advances. Somehow, but with the greatest difficulty, we managed between us to raise the money to meet those bills. I remember the circumstance well, because I was to be married in a few days, and it really seemed at one time as if it would be impossible for me to keep that simple engagement. However, the bills

once met, I was able to present myself at the proper place and time. Only the honeymoon had to be cut down to one week. At the close of that year we found ourselves in debt to the sum of £1,500, of which £800 was owing to our Treasurer. It took six years and more to get out of debt, but we never again had such a hard struggle, perhaps because we never again incurred liabilities so great. I think one ought to mention that we were also greatly assisted by the forbearance of our printer, Mr. Harrison, of St. Martin's Lane, who most kindly, out of friendship to the Society, allowed our bills to go on growing to a stupendous height.

During its existence of twenty-seven years the Society has done its great work with very little fuss and no external show. At one time we held annual meetings, but these were discontinued because they appeared to do very little good, and as we had always the same story to tell, the meeting grew monotonous. We have occupied two rooms in a quiet corner for offices and for staff; we have had a Secretary, one clerk, and an occasional messenger. Nobody, outside our own circle, came to see us; nobody, outside our own circle of friends, seemed to know anything about us; yet we were engaged, as you perhaps already understand, in effecting a complete revolution in the understanding and the study of the Bible; we were making the dry bones live, we were restoring the

grandeur of Herodian Palestine, we were recovering the country of David, we were restoring to the map the cities overthrown by that great captain—Joshua.

So much for the foundation and the conduct of the Society. Let us now justify what has just been advanced and show what this Revolution that we have accomplished really is.

A constant temptation besets the antiquary—and everyone who looks back—to represent the past as small, mean, of slight significance. It is exactly as if, in considering the future, we should look through one end of a telescope, and in considering the past, we should look through the other end. Thus, we stand in the small chambers of a mediæval castle, we look around, and the life that once filled the place seems cramped and confined. Then someone with a little imagination and a little more knowledge explains to us what these small chambers mean, and that life suddenly expands and becomes large, full, and splendid. The narrow chambers gleam with armour, glow with the colour of tapestry and the reflection of the mirrors and the splendid robes of the Court. I will submit a special and very striking illustration, from my own reading, of this propensity to dwarf everything of the past. That great antiquary and historian Dr. Brewer, speaking of mediæval London, described it as a collection of hovels and mean houses crowded and huddled together. Now on examining closer

into this general statement what do we find? In this collection of hovels—I am speaking of Plantagenet London—the London of Richard the Second—I have counted over sixty great palaces or houses of nobles, each one capable of holding followers by the hundred. There were, besides, a dozen splendid great monasteries; there were the halls of the city companies beginning to be built; there were the city churches, many of them large and beautiful, a hundred and twenty in number; there were the houses of the great city merchants, in which they were wont to entertain kings. And all this without counting the monasteries outside the walls, the great houses of Southwark, those of Westminster and the Bishops' Palaces that lined the Strand. So far, indeed, from London being a collection of huts and hovels it was a veritable City of Palaces, far more was it a City of Palaces than even Venice, Genoa, or Florence. But the antiquary, you see, was looking through the other end of the telescope.

Now, with this illustration in our minds, let us go back to Palestine. There are standing beside the shores of the Lake of Galilee the ruins of a town whose name—Tiberias—connects it with scenes of the deepest interest to all of us. These ruins were first seriously examined by Dr. Robinson. He came to the conclusion that the ancient town covered a very small area and could never have been of much importance.

Yet the history of Josephus assigns to the place a very great importance, and, further, it is certain that in the second century it was the centre of Rabbinical learning. Time passed—all those who studied the subject had made up their minds that Tiberias was a little fortified place, one of the small Galilean towns ; walled, it is true, but otherwise insignificant. The thing was never questioned.

In the course of time, the place is visited by our surveyor.

What does he discover? That Robinson's conclusion was altogether erroneous. So far from Tiberias being a little unimportant Galilean town, it was a great city surrounded by a wall, part of it fronting the lake, with a massive acropolis or citadel overhanging and dominating the town. This fortress on a hill above 500 feet high is enclosed by its own massive wall set with strong towers. Within the enclosure are vast ruins of buildings. The wall of the city joins this wall. It is in circumference three miles, if we include the wall of the citadel. Tiberias was therefore enclosed by a wall of nearly three miles in length—longer than the Roman wall of Augusta—the ancient London—longer than the walls of modern Jerusalem. Within the area enclosed by the walls are ruins—columns, capitals, fragments of every description. Now, if we wish to know further what kind of a city was Herodian Tiberias let us visit the remains of that

old Roman town near Reading—once a quiet country town—called Silchester. There we find, though so little has yet been excavated, that the streets crossed each other in regular blocks called insulæ; that the town was covered with beautiful villas, provided with winter and summer rooms, warmed by hot-air pipes, decorated with marble pavements, columns, cloisters, and porticoes, having gardens round them; that in the centre of the city, where was gathered together the chief business of the place, rose a great hall larger than our Westminster Hall, with court rooms and consulting rooms for the lawyers, with shops, with baths, with covered cloisters. This then, would be the kind of city upon which our Lord gazed from the lake before it—a pile of noble buildings rising from the level of the lake behind a low strong sea wall. Theatres, amphitheatres, Forum, prætorium, temples, synagogues, baths, rich houses—all crowned by the lofty fortress looking down upon the city. In the streets wandered the Roman soldiers, the slaves ran about working, the gladiators lay in the shade, in their schools sat the Rabbis fiercely dividing the word. Tiberias an insignificant city? Not so; it was a stately city, rich and strong and splendid.

Again, our surveyors have in the same way restored the ancient city of Cæsarea. There lie the Roman walls; there stretch the wide streets; there rise the long rows of columns; there stands the noble Forum;

there lies the vast amphitheatre; the games begin; the lions are turned out to fight the fierce prisoners from the desert; the gladiators await their turn; the stone seats are hidden by the multitudes who sit upon them, and by the bright flags and streamers flying in the wind, and by the silken awnings which keep off the sun. Beyond are the blue waves of the Mediterranean, covered with ships of all kinds—grain ships, wine ships, oil ships, making their way from port to port. All the life has gone out of the place. But in a corner—a little corner—of the city walls is another ruin, small and massive. This is the ruin of the Frank castle. The Herodian luxury and splendour have vanished; they have been broken up and destroyed because the men ceased to be fighting men, and were only feasting men; six hundred years after all that vanished came the Crusaders. As their splendour was to the splendour of Herod, so is their castle to the city of Herod. You may see what their castle is like by visiting the mediæval fortress of Porchester within the Roman walls of Portus Magnus; or the mediæval fortress of Pevensey within the Roman walls of Anderida. Now the Crusaders' castle, too, is broken down and destroyed, and there is left neither splendour nor luxury, but only a little modern village.

Everything—popular history, ecclesiastical art, the teaching of the Church, the preaching of every age—

has combined to make the world think of Palestine in the time of our Lord—and especially His own part of it—as a quiet, agricultural, obscure place, inhabited by a simple people, following simple pursuits. This conception is radically and entirely wrong. Palestine was not an obscure country; its history, the residence of so many of the people in Rome, in Spain, and, indeed, all round the shores of the Mediterranean, caused it to be a country very well known indeed, regarded with anxiety and interest, even with fear, by the Romans. There was no part of the Roman Empire better known, more jealously guarded, more anxiously watched. Nor was it a quiet and secluded country. He who wandered among the hills and valleys of Galilee was never far from some great and populous city. On the seaboard there were Tyre and Sidon, Ptolemais and Antioch; on the other side were Cæsarea Philippi and Tiberias. Of smaller towns or villages there stood one on every hill—their ruins and their fragments, their pottery, their oil presses, the walls of their synagogues—stand there to this day. The land was densely populated; there were schools in every town; there was a wealthy society; there was a learned society; there was a Romanizing section; there was a Judaizing section; there were everywhere Rabbis, merchants, centurions, legionaries, townsmen, and peasants. But it was not as a rustic preaching to rustics that our Lord went about. It was as one

who had learned in the schools of the Rabbis, as one who was allowed to teach in the synagogues, that He went forth; and it was not, I repeat, in an obscure corner of the Roman Empire, but in a part thoroughly well known, full of Roman civilisation, busy and populous, where at every turn He would meet with something to mark the Empire to which it belonged. It was a country which had long attracted attention on account of the fanaticism and courage of the people. The great revolt which cost Vespasian and Titus so much trouble before it was suppressed was not without its warnings, nor were the Romans unprepared when it happened.

One may go so far as to say that had Christ appeared in almost any other land of those lying round the Mediterranean it would have been in a more obscure part. But, then, how is it that His appearance and His message are not recorded in contemporary history? A question to be answered by another. What do we know of the people of New Carthage, of Marseilles, of Byzantium, of Tyre, of Alexandria, at the same period? What do we know of what happened in those great and populous towns? Nothing. Nothing at all. They have no history. Their millions have all perished—they and their works, and their buildings, and their thoughts, and their religions. But this one Figure remains. He wanders about the shores of the Galilean Lake,

and before Him are the splendid buildings, the strong walls, all the magnificence of a noble Roman city.

I will give yet another instance of what comes from looking through the wrong end of the telescope. The world has become accustomed to regard Jerusalem as, at the best, a small and rather insignificant place. The sleepy little city of the Jebusites, Richard Burton once called it. Writers have spoken of it as the little capital of a little Highland chief; as the fortress of a princeling; as the stronghold of a petty tribal king. The splendours of Solomon, though detailed with every particular, have been considered as the extravagance of Oriental imagination; and Josephus, that most veracious of historians, has been considered as himself the most extravagant of all. There is little, indeed, in the modern city to remind us of the past glories. Wave after wave of battle and siege has broken over the place. When Titus went away there was little left except a part of one tower, and the broken walls of the Temple. The vallies were filled up, the palaces were burned; the courts of justice, the public buildings, the private houses, the gardens, all were destroyed. After the next siege—that obscure siege during the revolt of Barcochebas, of which no record remains—still less was left. Presently came the time when the ancient glories were all forgotten, overshadowed and dimmed by the splendours of the sacred sites. These remained. For fifteen hundred years nobody

cared about the city of Herod; the city of David was thought of by few; it was the city of the Holy Sepulchre and the Ascension for the rest of the world. Those who have read that wonderful series of books published by the Pilgrim's Text Society, will remember how the first, the chief, the only object of the Pilgrim was to visit the sacred sites. There were two other sets of sacred sites in the city: that belonging to the Moslem and that belonging to the Jew. But the Latin Pilgrim knew of one only; he had come all the way from France to see those holy places, and he made no further inquiries. Now, about fifty years ago two very remarkable books appeared: Robinson's "Holy Land" and Fergusson's "Jerusalem." In each of those books may be observed an excellent illustration of looking through the telescope the wrong way. To Robinson, because the modern city was small and mean, pent, in those days, within its own narrow walls, it seemed as if it must have been always small and mean. He could see no deep valleys which made the heads of those who looked down from the Temple wall to turn giddy. Therefore there never had been any such valleys. And because he could see no lofty walls, no magnificent porticoes, therefore there never were any. As for the exact description of Josephus, it was Oriental extravagance—the vague splendours spoken of by the Rabbis. But Josephus, though an Oriental, is never

extravagant; he is quite a sober historian. That was part of his Roman side. Fergusson, for his part, starting with the assumption—the prejudice in which we were brought up; a prejudice shared by all the world at that time—that Jerusalem was always a little place, began to prove its littleness by the most curious historical arguments. The number of defenders was small: therefore the statements of Josephus about the population were grossly exaggerated. But Josephus carefully explains why the fighting-men were few. Again, the walls were quite small in extent: therefore the army of Titus must have been small; therefore the generally received number of the Roman legion must be reduced by half; therefore Josephus exaggerated. But Fergusson could not reduce the number of the Roman legion without the consent of scholars. Lastly, he must contract the area of the city, and put the Temple into a corner. I am aware that Sir Charles Wilson upholds Fergusson's position of the Temple, and to disagree with a scholar and antiquary so exact and careful as Sir Charles is a presumptuous thing to do, yet I confess that I cannot see any sufficient reason for departing from the traditional site which alone, in my mind, reconciles all the apparently conflicting statements and is consistent with history. The point, however, at the present moment is not where the Temple stood, but

how these two authorities—Robinson and Fergusson—both looked through the telescope from the wrong end and saw the city many times smaller than it was.

Our researches—one says it with pardonable pride—have restored the splendours of the Holy City. We have proved how the vast wall of the Temple—the grandest enclosure of the finest building in the whole world—rose from deep valleys on three sides, presenting a long facade of wall crowned with pillars and porticoes, and how within them rose the gleaming white marbles of the Inner House with its courts and its altars, and its crowds of priests, and those who lived by the altar.

Our researches have shown the inner valley bridged by noble arches and pierced by subterranean passages. They have shown the city provided with a magnificent water supply, glorious with its palaces, its gardens, its citadel, its castle, its courts, and its villas.

It is a great town that we have restored; not a great commercial town, but a great religious centre, the resort of all the people who could get there—at the Passover more than 2,000,000 brought their offerings thither—containing the college of the men learned in the law and the residence of the High Priest. It was a town as fanatic and as dangerous as Mecca, liable to sudden tumult, to popular fury—a town only held by the Romans by the constant display of superior and disciplined force.

In short, we have restored its splendour to Jeru-

salem, its importance and its wealth to the land of our Lord in His lifetime, its vast population, its fertility, its riches to the land, the greatness of its cities, those cities which we have always considered so small and unimportant. This, I submit, is a grand thing to have accomplished. To have achieved this alone is to earn the gratitude of the world.

Well, but there is one other point in which we have made a complete revolution. We have restored the country for the world for ever by the map and by the names and places of the Bible. This boast may be allowed when we consider that one man—Conder—has himself recovered more ancient names than all previous scholars and travellers put together. Consider what this means. We no longer read the sacred history mechanically, having to guess where this place was, and where was that. With the names in their place we can now follow the march of armies, the track of the patriarchal company, the route of the invader, or that of the flying enemy. Here are the hills, here the ravines, here the roads—an army does not fly across valleys, nor does it climb perpendicular rocks. This way, and this way only, could such a general have led his force. Whither—by what route—did Sisera essay his flight? Look at the map. By this way, because none other was possible. Sometimes, again, the map itself suggests a place where the name

on investigation is actually found to be still surviving under another form. In this way the Cave of Adullam was found. Sometimes excavations determine the site —as when Flinders Petrie determined last year the site of Lachish. In any case the Survey of the country, with the consequent recovery of the old names, has done more for the right understanding of the Bible than anything since the translation into the vernacular. Major Conder—in a sense—has given the world a new translation—a Revised Version—a Commentary—a new Targum—in which he shows the movements of history on the very field of action as they took place.

I have often been asked whether these researches actually prove the historical part of the Old Testament. It is a difficult question to answer. Suppose, however, we were to discover a papyrus two thousand or three thousand years old, containing a history, fragmentary in part, and in part full and connected, covering many hundreds of years. Suppose we were, without any prejudice against the authenticity of this history, or any presumption in its favour, to discover on examination that we could assign any single event recorded in the narrative exactly to the ground on which it was said to have taken place. Suppose further, we could prove that the event must, from the conformation of the ground, have to take place on that spot and on no other

Suppose we could prove that the writer of the history had an exact knowledge of the place he was describing ; and that if there were twenty writers every one of them had also an exact knowledge of the country, would not these facts go very far indeed to make us believe in the truth of this history? Well, such is exactly what we have proved for the historical books of the Bible. Such and no more. If we are asked to prove the miracles ; if we are asked to argue for the inspiration of the Bible, we reply that this is another branch of enquiry altogether, and that we leave it for those who are capable of undertaking it.

Again, to use another familiar and homely illustration, many men and women in these days practise the Art of Fiction. It is in that Art a recognized and well-understood rule that it is impossible to describe what you have not seen ; so that if you are going to describe a house, a piece of scenery, a country, you must go there and describe it from personal knowledge, or, at least, from the personal knowledge of some one who will describe it for you.

For instance, one of these literary persons, a few years ago, was proposing to write a novel which required an exact knowledge of the county of Northumberland. He obtained this knowledge by four journeys in the district ; he walked from end to end of the county, and saw everything there is to be seen in it ; until he had done this he found it impossible to

begin his work. Here is a modern instance—a trivial instance—of the necessity of local knowledge for a historian. It shows with what care and trouble truth of detail must be acquired. To my mind, absolute truth in local details—a thing which cannot possibly be invented, when it is spread over a history covering many centuries—is proof almost absolute as to the truth of the things related. I submit this argument —this illustration—for what you may think it worth. If you agree with me, remember that we owe this evidence to our Society.

I have spoken of the restoration of the past in a new understanding of the old splendours. I have also spoken of the survey as an adjunct, a proof and an illustration of history. Let us turn to lesser things, the casual finds—the unexpected prizes—the startling results—which have rewarded us during our researches. You are familiar with most of them, and I will not dwell at length upon them. But, in imagination, go back thirty years. Think what would have been the excitement—the eager curiosity—had the world been told that they would before long recover the Moabite account of a war with the Kings of Israel and Judah ; that they would find a tablet actually engraved in the reign of King Hezekiah ; that they would see the actual boundary inscription of a Levitical city ; that they would recover one of the inscribed stones of the Temple ; that they would find

the very head of the statue which caused the last revolt of the Jews ; that they would be able to restore the Empire of the Hittites, with the monuments of that people, the extent and boundaries of their rule, their alphabet and their language. What would have been the enthusiasm of the founders had the spirit of prophecy fallen upon one of them, so that he should declare these marvels? At one of the early meetings, one of the speakers, in an impassioned address, declared that he would die happy that very day if he could only see and converse with a Hittite. Well, in a week or two you will be able to do this. Dr. Wright will present you to the Hittites. Certainly, that would not have been thought of thirty years ago. The Hittites were as much lost as the Amalekites—more lost, because we know what the Amalekites were, and we did not know what the Hittites were.

These discoveries, if we consider a little, amount to an enormous addition to our knowledge. We now know the character—the alphabet—in which the Old Testament was written ; we know that it was the custom to record things on stone in that character—doubtless, therefore, there are many other records to be discovered. We have found them built up in walls, lying hidden in subterranean vaults, forgotten on hill sides, actually used as door-steps. There is every indication that the country is full of these inscribed stones. No house ought to be pulled down ; no

ruin ought to be examined: without looking for these inscriptions. First, came the buildings of the Kings, and, except in Jerusalem, they were neither great nor solid. Next, the buildings of the Maccabæan times; then those of Herod, when the country was covered with beautiful and stately synagogues, and with cities like that of Tiberias, rich and splendid. The Byzantine period pulled down the synagogues, while it pillaged and persecuted the Jews, and used the building materials for the erection of monasteries, churches, and hermitages, in those centuries when from end to end of Palestine the voice of prayer and praise, of litany and hymns, never ceased in the land, which was one of perpetual adoration. The Saracens came next, who built nothing except the Dome of the Rock—and that by the help of Byzantine architects; under them things fell to pieces, and the thistles and nettles grew over them, and their roots crept up gradually, and hid them, and the stones are under the earth to this day waiting for the archæologist to dig them up. The Frank, in his hundred years of occupation, built scores of castles and hundreds of churches. He was the most destructive of all, for he not only used the old stones, but he refaced them and carved them after his own fashion. The Turk, like the Saracen, has left things to decay. But if we would save what is left, we must continue our work because every new industry that is started in this

country, every little outburst of activity, consigns fresh stones to the limekiln, and builds up more of the old stones in new walls.

It is not probable that any considerable ruin has escaped the observation of our surveyors. Perhaps here and there, some small heap of stones may yet be found not upon our map. Such a heap, with a name that recalls and contains one of the few lost names of the Bible may have passed under the tangled vegetation, unseen ; but of these there cannot be many. Of discoveries of this kind there remain, we may boldly say, none to the ordinary traveller. This, in its way, is a loss to the world. Formerly, every traveller, accompanied by an interpreter, hoped to find something. Palestine was a land of mystery: what Robinson had done everybody could do: there was a fascination in the curious search for Biblical illustration. Now the traveller may take our map in hand and study it on his march. He will find entered there every tell, every hill, every ruin. There remains for him only the thankless task of confirmation. But suppose he considers the stones themselves, and carries with him, instead of a note-book for names, and places, and sketches of ruins, a field glass and a camera for the minute examination of the stones wherever a building remains above ground. Then, indeed, his trouble may be rewarded by another Hebrew-Phœnician inscription—another Moabite stone,

another verse, another chapter to the Book of the Things Left Out.

For his hope, for his encouragement, let us remember that when Clermont Ganneau discovered the inscriptions at Gezer—the boundary inscriptions of a Levitical city—which were cut deep in the living rock, the feet of our surveyors had trodden that very rock while the inscriptions remained to them invisible. This is the way with inscriptions ; they are to remain invisible to all until the right man comes. Thus, the Hamath inscriptions revealed themselves first to Burckhardt, who noted them ninety years ago. Then, though they were in a public highway, open for all the world to see, they remained invisible till Dr. Wright found them, copied them, and gave them to the world. And this was the beginning of our newly-acquired knowledge of the real ancient Hittite Empire. So again the Moabite stone remained unnoticed in the place where it lay for nearly 3,000 years. Travellers passed by ; the shepherds sat upon it ; nobody saw it. Then an English clergyman one evening made a hasty sketch of it, thinking it might be curious ; and then Ganneau heard of it. Then Warren heard of it. Then there was a rush for it—and the rest we know. Again, the inscribed stone of Herod's Temple—the only inscription left of the Temple—containing, word for word, the warning quoted by Josephus—the only stone of which we can

be certain that it stood in its position when our Lord was in the Temple—lay half buried in the ground. How many saw what was above—with the Greek letters—yet marked it not? Then came the man with eyes, the fortunate man, the "man of the happy hand," Clermont Ganneau, and this precious monument was saved. There must be many such stones left. Let the modern traveller look for them.

Let us turn to the future. You have seen, roughly sketched, what has been done. Let us now consider what the Society will do in the future.

Our survey work is not yet complete. We should extend the survey as far as Antioch—or Beirût, at least,—we should include a great deal more of the eastern country. Perhaps it may be considered desirable to explore that part which lies east of the Akabah Valley—with the land of Midian. But for the present it seems most desirable to search underground.

You who have followed Mr. Flinders Petrie's excavations in the Tell el Hesy, will understand the treasures which lie at our very feet if we will but stoop to pick them up. In this mound Mr. Petrie has made discoveries which remind one of Schliemann's researches at Troy. There are the same old walls, the same traces of flame, the same reconstructions. all pointing to the few indications of history offered by the Bible, and all pointing to the place as the

long-lost site of Lachish. Perhaps it may seem a small matter to recover Lachish. But in the recovery of the past no fact is small, no fact may be neglected. The past can only be recovered by the piecing together of facts which seem at first small and unimportant. We hope to obtain in the investigation of these mounds evidence of ancient art, corroboration of ancient history, inscribed stones, the connection of the country with other countries, and, if such a hope is ever to be realised, the Israelite libraries, such as those of Assyria, with the ritual, the laws, the history, the deeds of conveyance and partnership, the wills, the poetry of the people. Imagine—only imagine, if you can—the recovery of the popular literature—the popular life—of a country town in Palestine, when King Solomon sat upon the throne.

The preceding words were written last week. There comes to-day—this very day—by a strange and happy coincidence, news of a discovery which strangely illustrates the possibility of finding the very literature of which I spoke. This very day we have received from Tell el Hesy news of the finding of the first ancient book ever discovered in Palestine. It is a cuneiform tablet about two inches square, and it doubtless forms part of the library or the muniment room of the ancient Lachish. This discovery is one which may well make us hope for more. It is indeed wonderful to think that there are

still lying underground, in perfect safety, waiting for the spade to uncover them, the same monuments of the popular life of Canaanite and Hebrew as have been found in Assyria and Babylonia. We know from the tablets the life led by Abraham and his fathers in Ur of the Chaldees. It remains to be seen what was the life led by Samson and his fathers on the edge of the Philistian Plain.

There is a tendency in the minds of people to become tired of a thing after a time. Everybody was once eager to excavate Jerusalem. When the first curiosity was satisfied and Warren had restored its ancient greatness to the city, people began to get tired of the subject. Then Warren came home and we found that enough work for the present—as much as the world cared for—had been done in Jerusalem. Then we resolved upon the Survey. It was difficult to awaken the mind of the public to an abstract kind of thing such as a map. "What's the good of making a map?" asked the world. We had to show them the good of making a map. One trembles, on looking back, to think of the essays, circulars, papers, addresses, lectures, paragraphs, that had to be manufactured in our office in order to prove to the world that there was a great deal of good in making a map. I have written volumes, with my own hand, of such papers and essays. But we carried our point: we persuaded the world: we actually made our map. In course

of time we found that the world had had enough of map-making. So we turned to excavation, and there we are still. And here comes my forecast. Excavation is always attractive: for the time we shall go on digging into one mound after another, recovering masses of small facts, and here and there a big fact. Presently we shall find out that the world has become tired of excavations. It will not be for five, six, perhaps ten years. Then we shall go back to our survey work. And the end? That will not arrive in the lifetime of anybody here present. We are only just beginning the recovery of the ancient world, which lies buried everywhere—under our feet—in the East—all round the shores of the Mediterranean—in Central America, in Mexico, in Peru, everywhere. Layard, Warren, Conder, Schliemann, Flinders Petrie are pioneers. They are only beginning what our children and our grandchildren will carry on. What we have recovered is nothing—nothing—nothing—compared with what remains to be discovered. Already, we have found so much that many of the old so-called criticisms on the chronicles of the past are absolutely discredited. Do we remember that it was once seriously advanced that the legend of Bacchus and the story of Moses were one and the same, so that there never was any Moses at all? Do we remember that men have advanced the doctrine that the list of Kings of Judah and Israel was mythical from begin-

ning to end? Open any of those old writers who attacked the truth of the sacred history; of course nobody heeds them now, and it is waste of time even to read their ignorant arguments. But the point is that their arguments, once thought so formidable, have long since been proved to be based upon ignorance and assumption. The world that will be restored to us—the world before the Roman Empire—before the Greek found out how clever he was—will be a crowded busy world, far more civilized than our ancestors of only five hundred years ago; having its religions, and its priests, and its superstitions: having settled institutions, kings, and magistrates, schools, literature, and poets. The city of Jerusalem stood in the centre of this busy and crowded world; and around it were Babylon, Chaldæa, the Kingdom of the Medes and Persians, the country called Between the Rivers, the Empire of the Hittites, the land of Egypt, the trading cities of Phœnicia, the Mediterranean and the Isles. What place the people of Palestine occupied in history we partly know—and partly we have to find out. All that remains buried under the tells—waiting for us to dig it out.

About the year 1878 we published in the *Quarterly Statement* a paper communicated by Major Conder. It is the earliest account known of travel in the Holy Land, the history of an Egyptian traveller before the invasion of Joshua. This, to my mind, is one of the

most valuable and suggestive papers that we have ever produced—ever annotated by the busy brain of that officer. It shows us the country as it was in that early time.

That paper is only a foretaste of what we shall be able to do when our work has further advanced —say, in twenty, thirty, fifty—a hundred years to come.

I had intended to speak of many other things, but time presses. The Secretary sits in his office all day long and sees everybody who comes. Many strange persons came to see me during my tenure of office. The most curious were the men with a crotchet. There was the man who thought that there never were any Jews at all: the man who believed in the Bible being one long allegory both as a whole and in parts: the man who could prove from the Bible conclusively that the earth was flat: the man who had discovered the canon of proportion from some verses in the Bible: the man who had a new translation of a text to offer: the man who was wholly possessed by Nimrod, and saw in that Hunter types and prefigurings of things to come: the man who was equally possessed by Melchizedek: the man who came to preach what he called the Fifth Advent, and strewed the room with epigrams written on scraps of paper against Mr. Gladstone: the woman from Virginia whose mission it was to restore the Divine Institution of

slavery: all these and a hundred more came to see me, to convert me, and in the fond hope of getting their views published in the Journal of the Society.

Then there were the forgeries always going on. First the news would arrive of something mysterious, wonderful, precious discovered in Jerusalem. Then, almost before we had time to be thrilled, would arrive the note of warning. Then would follow, like the swift stroke of avenging fate, the discovery. I recall one scene. We are gathered in the large room of the Palestine Fund Offices. It is filled with antiquaries and scholars; there are members of our Committee; there is Major Conder; there is a detachment from the British Museum; there are Hebraists and antiquaries of all kinds. Among us stands, tall, grey bearded, a handsome man still, blue eyed, calm, self-possessed, the great Shapira, showing his treasure, the priceless copy of the Pentateuch with all the doubtful passages set right—written in beautiful Phœnician or Ancient Hebrew on skins brown with age. He values the document at—how much? Who is to value such a document? Who can set a price upon such a document? A million? Even a million would not represent its value. He is perfectly open, candid, truthful, and straightforward. His story is simplicity itself. The MS. was found in a cave in the Land of Moab. One would expect, perhaps, such discoveries in a cave. As for its authenticity he

knows nothing. He asks for nothing more than an examination. Let Dr. Bond carry it away with him. So it is done. Dr. Bond receives the MS. and carries it away. Then Shapira goes too. Those who are left behind begin to scoff. Conder points out that he knows the caves in Moab where the thing was found, and that they are damp, and that damp is fatal to ink; with other damaging and incredulous suggestions. Then the truth comes out, and we hear that the forger, his great coup missed, has hanged himself, and will commit no more forgeries. One of his little, innocent, child-like fancies, however remains in our office still. It is nothing less than the coffin of Samson—a plain roll of lead with the strong man's name scratched upon it in Hebrew characters.

Let us remember, in conclusion, that the work we have been engaged upon is a work of the greatest and most enduring kind. There has been very little fuss made over it. There have been no public rejoicings over it. The man whose name will be for ever connected with the Survey and the recovery of the Bible sites—Conder—has received no reward at all—no recognition at all—from the nation. Men who build a railway bridge—men who get rich—men who arrive at certain posts and offices—are rewarded by a grateful country with all kinds of distinctions. The man who has given to the world—for all time—to all humanity of the future

—this precious, this invaluable extension of our Bible knowledge—remains without any honour. They have not even offered him that distinction *pour rire*, the title of knight bachelor. One remarks this without any bitterness. Distinctions do not distinguish; they can but prove the intelligence, and the recognition, and the gratitude of the country. As for all of us here and all of those who are our friends, let us remember that to work for such a Society at all has been a great and a noble privilege—whether to work as our Chairman, for fourteen years, has worked for it, holding all the strings, watching every spadeful of earth dug up, every tomb that is found and sketched, guarding every penny of our income, with all the strings in his fingers: or to work in the field as Major Conder worked for it: or to work as you do in aid and support of the Society: or to work for it, as I have done, as your servant and your Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, you have already thanked the lecturer for his explanations, and I feel certain that you feel grateful to him. I am exceedingly glad that he has spoken of our work in the manner he has. I will merely point to these maps as typical of our work. This one represents all the knowledge that we had of the topography of Palestine thirty years ago, and this one gives you every valley, every hill, every spring, and every village and road. The topography, the archæology, the

natural history, the meteorology of the country have all been investigated. I now would ask you to give another warm vote of thanks to one who has worked so earnestly and so well, to whom I have had to look, and still do look, and miss him, if ever his other duties keep him from the Council Chamber where we meet. Once more give him your warm applause. (Loud cheers.)

The Hittites.

BY

REV. WILLIAM WRIGHT, D.D.,

Author of "The Empire of the Hittites."

The Chair was taken by MAJOR-GENERAL SIR F. J. GOLDSMID, C.B., K.C.S.I.

DR. WRIGHT: Only twenty years ago the Ancient Empires of the world were all arranged in beautiful order. Like a piece of mosaic, skilfully fitted, and compactly welded together, they filled the whole historic area. The work was not the mere result of a fortuitous concurrence of historical atoms, but the deliberate finding of thousands of honest labourers who had explored alike the broad fields and byways of secular history. Historians differed as to detail, but they were generally agreed as to the existence and sequence, trend and bearing of the world's ancient empires. Successive investigators added new facts, and reset old facts in local colours. They followed the established and recognised order of things, but their historical landscapes were only brilliant restorations of the ancient masters.

Ancient history generally, was in a most satisfactory condition. The historians were a happy family, and the students of history having learned their facts, knew exactly where they were. It would be an ungrateful work to unsettle this harmony and certainty, but this task has been unceremoniously accomplished by the Hittites.

The Hittites, as you will see, were always disposed to hold their own, and by sudden forays over their borders saved themselves from the social stigma of being ignored. They seem also to have been in the habit of making themselves known at the most inconvenient seasons. They pressed down on Egypt when weak and distracted, and carried devastation throughout Assyria; but perhaps on no occasion was their presence so unwelcome, not even to the weary Syrians, who fled from the siege of Samaria when they heard that the Hittites were coming, as it was to the historians and students of Europe when they learned that the Hittites claimed a large and abiding place among the great monarchies and empires of the world.

It was exasperating to think that the historic mosaic, put together with such infinite labour, and touched into perfect consistency by so many artistic hands, should have to be broken up for a horde of barbarians who had no record in classic story.

It was intolerable, too, when we thought we had

left the schools, and finished our education, to be told that we must unlearn our history and begin again at the beginning.

Our historians had not overlooked any of the sources of secular history. The Phœnician records of Sanchoniathon handed down by Philo of Byblius, and Porphyrius, as well as the fragments of Manetho's Egyptian history had been read in the pages of Eusebius. Scraps and fragments from Ctesias regarding the Syrian monarchy had been studied in Photius and Diodorus Siculus. Dion Cassius, Polybius, Josephus, Herodotus, and all the other secular chroniclers of the early past, had been searched and sifted, and every grain of fact had been separated from the chaff of tradition and surmise, and safely garnered.

In the patient and laborious collection of facts, with a view to the building up of history, the Bible was ignored. That unique volume, made up of the literature of a unique people, contained history, poetry, rhapsody, legislation civil and ecclesiastic, in fact the national literature of an ancient nation.

The Book mirrored the people of Israel, for whom it was written, in the common details of their lowly lives, and in their relation to the people who lay around them. It assumed to be true, and in its narration of facts the language bore the stamp of self-evidencing simplicity. It referred incidentally to a great people called Hittites, who moved on parallel

lines with Israel from the time of the patriarch Abraham till the final captivity.

When the Semitic tribe, with Abraham at their head, migrated from Haran to Canaan, the Hittites inhabited the land (Gen. xv, 20), and fifty years later, Abraham, a stranger and a wandering sheikh, purchased a grave for his wife from the Hittites, who were then in possession and power at Hebron. The completion of the bargain involved the earliest money transaction on record, and the earliest recognised form of sale and conveyancing. The magnanimous sentiments, and polished courtesy, under cover of which the Hittites secured a high price for a useless cave in a useless field, as well as the use of "money current with the merchant," mark them as a mercantile community in an advanced state of civilisation.

The family of the Patriarch continued to live side by side with the Hittites. The currents of their lives flowed in parallel channels, and Esau the grandson of Abraham chose for himself two Hittite wives, who "were a grief of mind unto Isaac and to Rebekah" (Gen. xxvi, 35).

The Israelites were often cheered during their weary sojourn in Egypt by the prospect of a return to the land of the Hittites, and from the Bush on Horeb the promise was renewed to bring them "unto the place of the Canaanites and the Hittites, and the Amorites, and the Perizzites, and the Hivites, and

the Jebusites" (Ex. iii, 8). This narration of peoples stands in topographical order as viewed from the Egyptian standpoint. The traveller northward first reached Canaan, next the Hittite colony in the neighbourhood of Hebron, and lastly the Jebusites, who then dwelt in Jerusalem.

After the Exodus, the spies reported in a general way that "the Hittites and the Jebusites and the Amorites" dwelt in the mountains.

Later the Hittites opposed Joshua as he entered the promised land, and the serried lines of the Hittite chariots were scattered in confusion by the Israelites in the decisive battle by Lake Merom.

Later still, Hittite captains marshalled and led the hosts of David and Solomon, and Hittite women were prominent in the harîms of the same renowned monarchs. King David pushed his conquests and extended his border in the land of the Hittites, and Solomon supplied them with commodities from Egypt in their time of need; and in the time of Jehoram, Benhadad of Damascus fled headlong from Samaria with his Syrian hosts for fear of "the Kings of the Hittites." Besides these and similar incidental references to the Hittites in the Bible, their geographical position generally was indicated in the time of Joshua as being—"From the wilderness and this Lebanon, even unto the great river, the river Euphrates, all the land of the Hittites" (Joshua i, 4).

Had these references been found in any ancient secular book, even among the shreds and fragments of the shady Sanchoniathon, they would have been hailed as historical, and the empire of the Hittites would long since have occupied a recognised place among the great empires of antiquity.

The references, however, were worked into the texture of the Bible, and they were therefore ignored; not indeed altogether ignored, for while Biblical critics in Germany accounted for the most important of them on the theory of "interpolation," English Biblical criticism went further still, and pronounced them "unhistorical."

To the thoughtful it seemed strange that an ancient people should interpolate unhistorical statements into their sacred books without sufficient cause, but to the critics it seemed scientific simply to say they had done so.

On this question the common spade has achieved signal success. That rough impartial instrument has turned up inscribed bricks of Babylon, and laid bare important hieroglyphics and tablets in Egypt, to stop the mouths of those who prate of the "interpolations" and "unhistorical" statements of the Bible. It is no longer necessary to deal with the subject in an *a priori* fashion, to urge the unlikelihood of the Israelites falsifying, out of pure wantonness, their holy writings, which they preserved with more than

superstitious reverence; or to dwell on the superhuman act of genius implied in the invention, the creation, of the Bible story of the Hittites.

Thanks to our trusty friend, the spade, we are now in a position to confront ingenious theories and bold assertions by hard concrete facts, "and those who believe not Moses and the Prophets must be confounded by bricks and stones."

Let me now draw your attention to the remarkable harmony between the inscriptions of Assyria and Egypt, and the sacred writings of the Jews. The advent stands about half-way between ourselves and the earliest mention we have of the Hittites. How strange that the nineteenth century B.C. should be yielding up its secrets to the nineteenth century A.D.

Sargon of Agâdé, about 1900 B.C., had his library replenished with what are known as the "Astrological Tablets." The inscriptions on these tablets were compiled from the libraries of Babylonian kings, and chronicled events in their relation to omens. These old world books tell of the Hittites as formidable rivals of the Babylonians in the North-West. I do not wish to lay great stress on our Biblical or Assyrian chronology. I think they are useful approximations, but it is a remarkable fact that the first appearance of the Hittites in the Babylonian records has been fixed by Professor Sayce just thirteen years

before Abraham's transaction with the Hittites at Hebron according to Usher's chronology. Abraham received in covenant the land of the Hittites—a large land with a people stretching to the River Euphrates, "unto the great river, the River Euphrates" (Gen. xv, 18). And the Babylonian records read in our day, after a silence of two millenniums, point to the Hittites at that time firmly established in the neighbourhood of Carchemish on the Euphrates.

The words of an inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I. are very remarkable when placed side by side with the words from the book of Joshua (Josh. i, 4). The words of the inscription are: "From . . . the border of the distant mountains to the fords of the Euphrates, the land of the Hittites and the upper sea of the setting sun."

The two capitals of the Hittites were Kadesh on the Orontes and Carchemish on the Euphrates, but as an enterprising people they seem to have pushed a wedge-like colony down through Syria as far as Hebron and Egypt. About fifty years after his departure from Haran, we find Abraham engaged in purchasing a cave-tomb from the Hittites of Hebron.

As Damascus and Aleppo now encourage the Bedawîn to encamp under their walls, and exchange the produce of the desert for the merchandise of the settled populations, so a Hittite colony established at Hebron would in their own interest encourage the

great nomadic chieftain, Abraham, with his surplus lambs, wool, and cheese, to linger in their neighbourhood, and purchase the produce of the looms of Egypt, and the workshops of Phœnicia.

At a very early period the aggressive Hittites, according to the Assyrian tablets, made war on the Accadians. The Hittites were dependent on Egypt for many of their supplies, and it is a matter of history, that all strong nations push out their surplus and enterprising population along the highways of their commerce. It was thus Phœnicia planted her colonies and stations, wherever the current of commerce carried her merchants; and it is thus that England, France, Germany and other peoples plant their colonial stations and outposts at the present day.

There is no difficulty in believing that the powerful, aggressive, and warlike Hittites should have swarmed over their southern, as well as over their south-eastern border, and that they should have planted stations in Southern Palestine. The peaceful character of the transaction between Abraham and the Hittites, at Hebron, has been seriously urged against the genuineness of the story. This objection does not rest on a profound view of things; it assumes that a warlike people are incapable of engaging, with courtesy, in a peaceful transaction. I am inclined to think that the very objection is a proof of incapacity

to look at a Bible statement with ordinary reasonableness. As a matter of fact, however, the Egyptian inscriptions give us glimpses of the Hittites engaged in peaceful, social, and domestic transactions; and it may be safely assumed that the Hittites could not have withstood for a thousand years, the shocks of war from Babylon, Egypt, and Assyria, if they had not been industrious and enterprising in times of peace.

Let us turn now to the Egyptian inscriptions. As early as the twelfth dynasty, the Hittites, according to Brugsch, appear over the border as the hereditary foes of Egypt. The capital of the Hyksŏs dynasty was Zoan or Tanais, and Mariette declares that one of the Hyksŏs dynasties was Hittite. In the Bible we find the casual statement that "Hebron was built seven years before Zoan in Egypt" (Numb. xiii, 22) and this seems to indicate the order in which the Hittites consolidated their power southward.

The wave of northern invasion had reached Hebron and made a lodgment there nine years before it swept over the border and made a lodgment in the land of Goshen.

About the middle of the seventeenth century B.C. Thothmes I. resolved "to wash his heart by taking vengeance on the Asiatics" who had encroached on his borders. He began, on ascending the throne, a war against the Hittites and their allies, and that war

was carried on by successive Pharaohs for nearly 500 years.

Thothmes III., the Alexander of Egyptian history, came to the throne about 1600 B.C. According to Usher this was about six years after Jacob went down into Egypt, and thirty-five years before the death of Joseph. The monuments of this splendid reign, one of which stands on the banks of the Thames, are exceedingly numerous. Dr. Birch and other Egyptologists have extracted from the picture records of Karnak a detailed account of thirteen campaigns waged by this Pharaoh.

The Hittite King of Kadesh had, according to the inscriptions, gathered together "the Kings and their peoples from the water of Egypt to the riverland of Mesopotamia, and they obeyed him as their chief." He led his army to the strategic and strong city Megiddo (the scene of many a terrible battle, the type of the New Testament Armageddon, where the final contest between the forces of good and evil must be decided).

Thothmes III. drew out against the confederates the might of Egypt. At Ihem he held a council of war, at which he informed his army that the Hittite King of Kadesh had entered Megiddo, and that he had with him all the kings of the countries from Egypt to the Euphrates, and also the Phœnicians and people of Cyprus. The details of the march are

given and the different views expressed at the councils of war.

"Keep yourselves ready, look to your arms, for early in the morning we shall meet this miserable enemy in battle," was the Cromwellian General order of Thothmes III.

On the following morning the battle began. The Hittite confederates were broken, and leaving their chariots behind them they fled within the city; but the Egyptians, falling upon the rich plunder, failed to take the city before the Hittites had barricaded it. A siege followed, but, according to the inscription, "Megiddo had the might of a thousand cities, and the king graciously pardoned the foreign princes."

An inscription gives a list of 119 towns and peoples represented by the confederates, and also details of the booty captured, and tribute imposed. The first town mentioned is Kadesh, the capital of the Hittites. Of spoil there were precious stones, golden dishes, a two-handed flagon of Phœnician work. There were also among the spoils 924 chariots, and the chariot of the Hittite king, plated with gold.

Pharaoh directed his fourth campaign against Carchemish, the north-east capital of the Hittites, and his fifth campaign against their southern capital, Kadesh, on the Orontes. Seven years after the battle of Megiddo he drove the Hittites north, in a

sixth campaign, and destroyed Kadesh, and cut down all the surrounding trees. In the thirty-third year of his reign he waged his seventh campaign, and returned with "the tributes of the great land of the Hittites, 301 lbs. in 8 rings of silver," &c. The ninth campaign closed with the storming of Kadesh. Thus campaign followed campaign, and the Egyptian records boast of victories over the Hittites; but the Hittite resistance was not broken, and succeeding years saw new Egyptian armies marching through the length of Syria against the hereditary foe.

On the death of the great Thothmes (about 1516 B.C.) the Hittite empire became more consolidated and more warlike, and, after about fifty years of constant wars, in which the Hittites more than held their own, a treaty of peace was concluded between Rameses I. and Saplel the Hittite king.

Seti I., came to the throne in 1388 B.C., exactly 200 years after the death of the great Thothmes. He entered on a campaign as "the avenger of broken treaties," and after vanquishing the Bedawîn, Syrians, and Phœnicians, he fell upon Kadesh while the people were engaged in their ordinary occupations. This campaign is commemorated in the battle scene depicted on the north side of the great temple of Karnak.

We now see in the Egyptian records what we saw in the Bible. During the sojourn of Israel in Egypt

the Hittites grew in importance and became more consolidated in the north. The Hittites whom we first met at important stations on the way to Egypt such as Hebron and Beersheba were swept aside into the mountains by successive waves of Egyptian invasion, and the location of the Hittites becomes "from the wilderness and this Lebanon even unto the great river, the river Euphrates." The Hittites were still, however, in the days of Seti I. the dominant race in Syria. One of his inscriptions declares :

"The great kings of Syria are brought by Pharaoh, in consequence of his victory over the Hittites, to fill the storehouse of his noble father." Thus the subjection of the Hittites meant the subjection of Syria.

Rameses II. was the associate and successor of his father, Seti I. There is scarcely a doubt that he was the Pharaoh of the oppression. Many temples are adorned with the records of his achievements, the chief of which was the famous battle with the Hittites at Kadesh on the Orontes.

In his fifth year he marched forth against the Hittites, who were once more in arms against Egypt. His route lay along the coast of Syria through Joppa, Tyre, Sidon, and Beyrout. Passing through the Eleutherus valley he brought his army to the Hittite city Kadesh. The King of the Hittites had assembled a mighty host at Kadesh to meet and roll back the tide of Egyptian invasion.

Pentaur, the Theban poet laureate, accompanied Rameses II. as war correspondent, and he describes the war and the exploits of Pharaoh in a heroic poem which not only adorns the walls of the temples of Abydos, Luksor, Karnak, and the Rammesseum at Ibsamboul, in conjunction with splendid battle scenes, but has come down to us on a roll of papyrus now in the British Museum.

Pentaur, describing the Hittite army, says: "The King of the hostile Hittites had assembled with him all people from the uttermost ends of the sea. He left no people on his road without bringing them with him; their number was endless; nothing like it had ever been before; they covered mountains and valleys like grasshoppers for number." Among the allies and satraps of the Hittites we recognise peoples extending from Mesopotamia to Mysia. There were the Dardani from Troy, the Mysians, the Lysians, and even a contingent from the island of Arvad.

When Rameses reached Kadesh the Hittites were in ambush, and sprang suddenly on the Egyptians, who were taken by surprise.

"Pharaoh called together all the chief men of his warriors. Behold, they were at the lake of the land of the Amorites. Then the King arose like his father Month; he grasped his weapon and put on his armour, like Baal in his time; the King rushed into the midst of the hosts of the Hittites. When

he looked back he found himself surrounded by 2,500 pairs of horses, and his retreat cut off by the bravest heroes of the miserable Hittites. There were three men in each of the Hittite chariots, and they were all gathered together; and not one of my princes, not one of my captains of chariots, not one of my chief men, not one of my knights was there. My warriors and my chariots had abandoned me, not one of them was there to take part in the battle."

In his straits Pharaoh addressed himself to his god Amon, who declared himself "worth more than hundreds of thousands united in one place." Thus encouraged Pharaoh, according to the inscriptions, fell single-handed on the Hittite army. "I, the king, flung them down head over heels into the Orontes. I subdued all the people and yet I was alone, for my warriors and charioteers had left me in the lurch." In such extravagant terms did the Pharaoh of the oppression celebrate the battle of Kadesh. I am inclined to agree with Brugsch, who believes that the boastful Rameses came out of the battle a doubtful conqueror. There is sufficient evidence of this even in the heroics of Pentaur. "The miserable King of the Hittites" before the battle, becomes after the battle "the great King of the Hittites." The country was not devastated as in previous campaigns, and there are no enumerations of booty such as followed other conquests.

On the contrary an offensive and defensive alliance, with extradition clauses, was the first result of the battle. The treaty, of which we have a copy in Egyptian, was written in Hittite on a silver plate. Kheta-Sira, the great King of the Hittites, treats with Pharaoh at least as an equal, his name standing first in the treaty. The treaty was sealed by a dynastic alliance. The Hittite King, in Hittite costume, went down into Egypt, leading with him his beautiful daughter the Princess Ur-ma-Nufirura, and she became the queen of Pharaoh in the thirty-fourth year of his reign.

A memorial tablet at Ibsamboul speaks thus of the influence of the Queen :—

"The Hittite King's eldest daughter stands forth to soften the heart of King Rameses II., a great and inconceivable wonder. She herself knew not the impression that her beauty made on the King's heart," and the inscription closes with the peace sentiment that the "Hittite people had one heart and one soul with the Egyptians." The peace between Pharaoh and the Hittites lasted till the close of his long reign of sixty years. To this lasting friendship doubtless his Hittite Queen contributed, and she may have been the mother of that princess who saved and adopted the child Moses.

Mineptah II., the Pharaoh of the Exodus, remained loyally by the treaty, and it is even recorded of him

that he sent wheat in ships to preserve the lives of the Hittites.

More than 100 years later Rameses III. waged a cruel war in the "land of the Hittites," and an inscription on the temple of Medinet Abou records that he brought back "the miserable King of the Hittites as a prisoner alive."

We thus see the Hittites the rivals of the Egyptians in peace and war from the twelfth to the twentieth dynasty. The shock of Egyptian invasion exhausted itself at Kadesh and Carchemish, but the mighty empire of the Hittites extended beyond, on the broad plains and highlands of Asia Minor, and so there were fresh Hittite armies and abundant Hittite wealth to enable the Hittite empire to withstand the might of Egypt for a thousand years.

We can now see how Rameses II. may have feared the growing importance of the Hebrews of Goshen when he issued his cruel order, lest they might join some of the confederacies by which Egypt was so long menaced.

And we may also see how it happened that the Hittites, owing to their peace with Egypt, were free to oppose the Israelites on their entrance into the promised land.

In the united light of the Bible and the Egyptian inscriptions we see the Hittites extending far south, we see them gradually withdrawing northward towards the centre of their empire, we see them

supplying wives to King David and Solomon and to Rameses II. and III. David, like Rameses, pushed his conquests among the towns of the Hittites, and Solomon, like Mineptah, supplied the Hittites with commodities which they needed. The promise to send hornets to drive out the Hittites (Deut. vii, 20; Josh. xxiv, 12) was largely fulfilled in the devastating wars that swept Southern Palestine. In the rough border warfare the hand of Egypt would press heavily on Hittite colonies as being advanced branches of the great national enemy.

We should not even overlook Manetho's fragmentary tradition that the Hyksos on withdrawing from Egypt retired to Jerusalem. And this fact may have been in the mind of Ezekiel when he rebuked the pretensions of the Jerusalem Jews by declaring "thy father was an Amorite and thy mother a Hittite" (Ezek. xvi, 3).

We have an incidental reference to a Hittite in the book of Judges (i, 26), from which we may note the same northward trend of the people. The man by whose assistance the Israelites found their way into Luz or Bethel, "went into the land of the Hittites, and built a city, and called the name thereof Luz." We now know that this Luz stood near the upper sources of the Jordan.

On their entrance into the promised land, the Israelites encountered the Hittites and the other hill

tribes ; and no doubt the Hittites, as being skilful and valiant warriors, directed the less disciplined hosts of the land. The great northern people, who had secured peace with the Pharaohs, would naturally give a helping hand to stem the tide of invasion (Josh. ix, 1). And hence we find that they gathered themselves together to fight with Joshua and with Israel with one accord.

At Jericho and Ai (Josh. viii, 2), Joshua seems to have overcome the opposition in detail. But King Jabin, seeing the approaching danger, sent far and near to all the kings and peoples of the land (Josh. xi, 1). The common danger drew the people together.

It was the supreme and united effort of the doomed people. They were there in their strength, the disciplined hosts of the Hittites.

In the Egyptian hieroglyphics their well-ordered armies form a striking contrast to the Canaanitish crowd.

The beardless light red Hittites, on horse and foot, march in battle array with well-drilled precision, but they were especially distinguished by their chariots, each of which carried three warriors.

Such was the army of the Hittites which secured from the proudest and most boastful of the Pharaohs a formal treaty and dynastic alliance.

Such the chisel of the sculptor and the brush of the

painter portrayed them on abiding stone, and such was the chief force of that mighty host by the waters of Merom on which Joshua fell suddenly, and by a great overthrow became possessor of the Land of Promise from Mount Halak on the south to Baal-gad on the north (Joshua xi, 17). We recognise in the Hittites by the Huleh Lake, the same people who fought with Rameses by the water of Kadesh, and whose pictures still adorn the temples of Egypt.

At a still later date we have an important reference to the Hittites in connection with the siege of Samaria. The Israelites under Jehoram, son of Ahab, were being hard pressed by Benhadad of Damascus, but the Syrians heard a noise and they said, "the King of Israel hath hired against us the Kings of the Hittites," and they "fled for their lives" (2 Kings vii, 6, 7).

This passage has been ridiculed by an eminent English authority "as not exhibiting the writer's acquaintance with the times in a very favourable light." We have now very full details of the times, deciphered from the Assyrian inscriptions, and we find that the "Kings of the Hittites" were the terror of the time. It was the critic therefore and not the sacred writer whose acquaintance with the times does not appear in a very favourable light. Seldom has the spade so signally demolished the pretensions of the higher criticism.

In the era of Tiglath Pileser I., B.C. 1130, the Hittites were paramount from the Euphrates to Lebanon. From this period down to 717 Assyria waged constant war with the Hittites.

On a monument of Shalmanesser, the contemporary of Ahab, Jehu, and Hazael, now in the British Museum, the inscription mentions the "Kings of the Hittites." "Sagurni, which the Kings of the Hittites call Pitru, for myself I took; the tribute of the Kings of the Hittites all of them I received; their chariots I took from them; to the cities of the Hittites of the Hamah tribes I went down; eighty-nine cities I took; Rimmon Idri of Damascus, and twelve Kings of the Hittites."

Shalmanesser died 823 B.C., having waged ceaseless wars against the Hittites.

Sargon, his son, carried on his father's conquests "in the beginning of my reign (B.C. 721)," says Sargon, "with the help of the sun who aided me to vanquish my enemies, I besieged, I occupied the town of Samaria, and I brought into captivity 27,800 persons." This was the close of the kingdom of Israel. Four years later (717 B.C.) he overthrew finally "the Empire of the Hittites" by the defeat of Pisiri and the capture of Carchemish.

Thus the Hittites, who appear for the first time in the inscriptions of Sargon I. about 1900 B.C., disappear from history in the inscriptions of Sargon B.C. 717. They were a great people before Abraham

went forth from Ur of the Chaldees, and they only yielded to the growing might of Assyria after the Israelites had been swept into captivity.

Admitting the concurrent testimony of the Bible and the inscriptions to be true regarding the Hittites, would it not seem strange that so great a people should disappear, and leave behind them no trace of their existence? The Hittites were surrounded by such literary peoples as the Assyrians, the Egyptians, and the Phœnicians. Their relations with Assyria must have been extensive, and they could not have been ignorant of the Assyrian libraries and public monuments. Hittites who visited Egypt, either as captives or merchants, would see on the Egyptian temples great pictures representing their countrymen as vanquished, and long, boastful records of the Egyptian victories over them. It is hardly conceivable that a brave and patriotic people like the Hittites would, century after century, continue to hold the Egyptians and Assyrians at bay, without having some records or monuments of their own to match those of their enemies. Nothing less than the absence of a written language would sufficiently account for such an omission on their part.

We know, however, that the Hittites had a written language, and that they were a literary people. The offensive and defensive alliance between the Hittites and Egyptians, which Kheta-Sira took with him to

Egypt, was written in the language of the Hittites on a silver tablet. The version of the treaty, inscribed on the temples of Egypt, is a mere translation from the Hittite original. So fully do the Egyptian inscriptions recognise the literary attainments of the Hittites, that they contain a contemptuous reference to their writing propensities.

The facts being such, it seemed to me only reasonable to look out for Hittite remains "in the land of the Hittites."

With this object in view I started from Damascus on the 10th November, 1872, to secure, if possible, the wonderful inscriptions which Burckhardt had seen in Hamah sixty years before.

Burckhardt, in his exploration of Hamah in 1812, had discovered in a corner of a house in one of the bazaars, a stone covered with figures and signs, which he declared to be hieroglyphics, but different from the hieroglyphics of Egypt. Everyone who cared to know anything of Syria read Burckhardt's travels.

All admitted his accuracy of observation, yet so little interest was taken in his discovery, even by professional explorers, that Murray's "Handbook," so late as 1868, declares "there are no antiquities in Hamah."

At length, in 1870, Mr. J. Augustus Johnson, the American Consul General, and the Rev. S. Jessup, an American missionary, stumbled on the Hamah inscriptions, and from that moment a period of

zealous effort to secure them succeeded the long period of apathy and neglect.

The newly kindled enthusiasm with reference to the curious hieroglyphics, which had waited so long for an interpreter, seemed destined to endanger their existence; and from Damascus we watched, with almost breathless suspense, the various heroic but fruitless attempts to secure accurate copies.

The vague but much dreaded power of the American Consul, and the local knowledge and skill of an American missionary, availed not to enable them to make accurate transcripts of the re-discovered hieroglyphics.

In publishing a picture of one of the inscriptions, in the "First Quarterly Statement of the American Palestine Exploration Society" in 1871, Mr. Johnson says: "We did not succeed in getting squeeze impressions, for fanatical Moslems crowded upon us when we began to work upon the stones, and we were obliged to be content with such copies as could be obtained by the aid of a 'native painter.'"

The imperfect tracings of the "native painter" were seen by Messrs. Drake and Palmer on their way home through Beyrout, from their wanderings in the Desert; and the Palestine Exploration Fund Committee sent Mr. Drake back to Syria to examine and copy the inscriptions.

By his great skill in dealing with natives, Mr.

Drake almost succeeded in taking photographs and squeezes of the most important, but gathering angry mobs obliged him to hasten his operations before he had effected his purpose.

Sir Richard Burton, then Her Majesty's Consul at Damascus, also visited Hamah. He gave a good description of the stones, and pointed out accurately the places where they were to be found; but he also had to be content with the deciphering of one Kostatin-el-Khuri.

These he published in "Unexplored Syria" with the following explanation :—

"The ten sheets accompanying this article had been applied to the blackened or reddened faces of the four stones, and the outlines were afterwards drawn with a reed pen. In a few cases the fancy of the copyist had been allowed to run wild . . . ."

The publication of the rude tracings in "Unexplored Syria," increased still more the general interest in the inscriptions, and a very large sum of money was offered for the smallest stone, but the people of Hamah would not part with it at any price.

Then a new and altogether different set of men begun to bully and barter for the coveted curiosities, and we saw with dismay a commencement of the fussy peddling which a short time before had led to the breaking up of the Moabite Stone. At this

juncture my opportunity arrived, not only of securing but of saving the precious inscriptions.

The Sublime Porte, seized by a periodic fit of reforming zeal, had appointed an honest man, Subhi Pasha, to be Governor of Syria. Subhi Pasha brought a conscience to his work, and not content with redressing wrongs that succeeded in forcing their way into his presence, resolved to visit every district of his province, in order that he might check the spoiler, and discover the wants of the people. He invited me to accompany him on a tour to Hamah, and I gladly accepted the invitation. The late Sir Kirby Green, the English Consul at Damascus, was also to be his guest.

I joined the Pasha's party at Hums, and on the following day we started for Hamah with an enormous following. Chiefs from all parts flocked with their retainers to do honour to the Waly.

Princelings, whose possessions had been reduced to a horse, a few arms, and a richly braided jacket, galloped over the plain, wheeling and tossing their spears in the air, and showing wonderful feats of horsemanship. Bedawî hostages from the desert, white-turbaned Ulema, sugar-loaf-topped Dervishes, priests and peasants, made up a procession ten deep, more than a mile long, and surrounded by a picturesque army of skirmishers, who kept up their antics for miles all round the main body during the whole journey.

On the 25th November we arrived in Hamah late in the afternoon. During the day the Waly had consulted Sir Kirby Green and me as to his projects for ameliorating the condition of the people.

We sat up late that night together, and I had an opportunity of asking his Excellency to aid me in getting perfect copies of the inscriptions. This he promised to do in the most gracious manner.

The next morning at an early hour Sir Kirby Green and I sallied forth in quest of the inscriptions. None of the books or articles referring to the inscriptions had reached us in Damascus before we set out, and we had to begin our operations without any advantage from the labours of our predecessors.

Our first business was to find the inscribed stones, and this was not so easy as it might seem for all whom we asked about them looked us steadily in the face and declared vehemently that there were no stones such as we sought in Hamah.

In a large city of narrow crooked streets it would have been a weary work to find the inscriptions for ourselves, and after much disappointment we resolved to ask every person we met, in the hope that we might find someone not up to the conspiracy of concealment. The first man we met after making this resolve proved to be Suliman el-Kallas, in the wall of whose house was one of the inscriptions. The secret being out, we had no difficulty in finding all

the stones, and they were also pointed out to the Waly.

Subhi Pasha, who was known in Europe as Subhi Bey, before his appointment to Damascus, was descended from a noble Greek family. He was the most learned man among the Turks, and his private collection of coins and art treasures brought him into scholarly relations with many of the *savans* of Europe. Subhi Pasha, who was the creator of the Constantinople Museum, recognised at a glance the great importance of the inscriptions, and sent a telegram to the Sultan asking him to accept the inscribed stones for the Museum.

I urged on His Excellency that such inscriptions ought to be the common property of all, that the scholars of Europe were waiting eagerly for accurate copies of them, and that they would doubtless open a new chapter in history which would show that a great people, called Hittites in the Bible, but never referred to in classic history, had once formed a mighty empire in that region.

The Pasha not only consented to let me take copies of the inscriptions, but promised to bring the inscribed stones to the *Serai*, where I might copy them at leisure. Under other circumstances we should have experienced great difficulties in securing copies of the inscriptions, for the recent feeble attempts to get possession of the stones had brought the Hama-

thites to consider them of extraordinary value; and as we passed through the city with the Governor-General, we heard many expressions of muttered defiance, and threats of violence towards anybody that might venture to interfere with their sacred and venerable treasures. Later in the day, when it became known that the Pasha would take the stones, we heard men vowing that they would destroy the inscriptions, as they have since done with that at Aleppo.

I saw now that a crisis was reached. For hundreds, perhaps thousands of years, these mute inscriptions had waited for some one to hear their story. Egyptian, Assyrian, Greek, Selucidæ, Roman, Saracen, Crusader, and Turk had passed them by as unworthy of even a passing notice; and now that travellers from the Isles of the Sea, eager to learn their secrets, had arrived, their voice was about to be hushed for ever. A greater calamity than that of the Moabite Stone tragedy was imminent. A mighty Empire was about to claim its rightful position among the great nations of the ancient world, and a few fanatics were about to push it back into the outer darkness to which classic history had assigned it.

Sir Kirby Green and I saw that we must exert ourselves if the inscriptions were to be saved. We visited all the men in whose grounds or walls the stones were, and assured them, on the faith of a British Consul,

that Subhi Pasha was altogether different from the other Pashas whom they had known; that he would pay full value, and more, for the stones; and now that the Sultan had replied by telegram accepting them, any one who interfered with the inscriptions would be most severely punished. We thus endeavoured to enlist the cupidity and fear of the Hamathites in favour of the stones.

We also laid the matter before the Waly, who placed the inscriptions under Ibrahim Pasha for the night, and he told off a number of soldiers for their protection.

Hearing late in the evening from some of the people that a formidable conspiracy was on foot for the destruction of the inscriptions, and that the city guards were likely to lend assistance, we told them candidly what we had heard, and assured them that dire punishment would fall on them if any mishap befell the stones. It was an anxious and sleepless night, and on the following morning the Waly, by our advice, paid sums varying from three to fifteen napoleons each for the stones, and the work of removing them to the *Serai* began.

The removal of the stones was effected by an army of shouting men, who kept the city in an uproar during the whole day. Two of them had to be taken out of the walls of inhabited houses, and one of them was so large that it took fifty men and four oxen a

whole day to drag it a mile. The other stones were split in two, and the inscribed parts were carried on the backs of camels to the *Serai.* As the shrill-voiced Moslems were summoning from the minarets the faithful to prayer at set of sun, the last stone was to our great delight deposited in safety.

The removal of these mysterious relics produced a great commotion in Hamah. The fact of a British Consul and a Protestant Missionary being the guests of the Waly of Syria, seemed strange and portentous in the eyes of fanatical Moslems.

Celestial portents also combined to impress the Moslem mind ; for on the night following the removal of the stones to the *Serai,* a meteoric shower in Eastern splendour was seen by the Hamathites, who beheld in every sparkling train the wrath of heaven fulminated against Hamah in the event of their sacred stones being taken away.

The wrathful stars had appeared in accordance with an ancient prophecy.

There was much shouting and invoking the name of Allah during the night, and in the morning an influential deputation of green and white-turbaned Moslems waited on the Waly to tell him of the evil omens, and to urge a restoration of the stones.

The Waly ordered coffee and cigarettes for all the members of the deputation, who squatted in solemn

dignity around him. He listened patiently to all the speakers, several of whom spoke at great length and with much animation. When they had finished, the Waly continued stroking his beard for some time. Then, he asked, in a very grave manner, if the stars had hurt anyone. They replied they had not. "Ah," said the Waly, brightening up and speaking with a cheery ringing voice, that even the guards outside the door might hear, "the omens were good. They indicated the shining approbation of Allah on your loyalty in sending these precious stones to your beloved Khalif, the Father of the Faithful." The grave deputation rose up comforted. Each member kissed the Waly's hand and withdrew.

We had now got our hare, and we had to face the difficulty of cooking it. It was necessary to get transcriptions free from what Sir Richard Burton called "the vagaries of the native painter." There was no photographer in Hamah, and we had no photographic apparatus with us, and we felt that it was of the greatest importance to secure exact facsimiles, as we knew not what might happen to the stones. I tried in vain to procure plaster of Paris in Hamah. I learned, however, that gypsum was found in the neighbourhood, and I sent two trusty men, well bribed, to search for it.

Then began the work of cleaning the inscriptions. The moss and dirt of ages had filled up the hollows

between the raised characters. Lime mortar had been dashed into them, and during the lapse of ages it had grown almost as hard as the stone itself. It was a work that could be delegated to no one, and it required incessant scrubbing during the greater part of two days, with brush and water and pointed stick, to make the stones clean.

Meantime, the men had returned with a camel-load of gypsum in blocks. This had to be burnt, and pounded into powder.

Many attempts were made to decoy us from our labour to shoot woodcock, or to hunt wild boars, or to stalk gazelles and bustards ; but we stuck to our task until we had two sets of perfect plaster casts of all the inscriptions. This work was fully shared in by Sir Kirby Green, who took my place at the inscriptions when I was obliged to be elsewhere, and who managed to make up for my absence from the Pasha's parties.

As soon as the casts were firm we despatched them by a safe man to Damascus, whence the Consul sent one set to the Government, for the British Museum, and I sent the other casts which are now before you to the Palestine Exploration Fund.

We had thus succeeded in placing within the reach of scholars, exact facsimiles of the Hamah inscriptions, showing the actual lengths of lines and bars and characters and blanks, perfect even to the faults of the stone.

Is it not strange that with all the wealth of evidence from Egypt, Assyria, and the Bible, the discovery of the Hittite Empire should be really the work of the last few years?

All discoveries seem simple enough when they are made. We do not wonder so much at the discovery, as we wonder that the human mind has been so long in drawing the only natural and obvious conclusions that could possibly be drawn from the facts.

Philosophers and savages had witnessed the action of gravitation for thousands of years. Philosophers as well as savages had seen apples fall, but the fall of *one* apple suggested to *one* prepared mind the train of thought that led to the discovery of the law of gravitation.

Scientific men as well as cooks had often seen boiling water playing with the lid of the vessel in which it was contained, but the steam forcing its way from a boiling kettle led to the discovery of the steam-engine, and hence to the revolution of the whole system of locomotion.

In like manner the securing of the Hamah inscriptions led to the restoration of a lost empire.

I claim no credit beyond the exercise of a little common sense for suggesting that the Hamah inscriptions were Hittite remains. The cuneiform inscriptions were called Assyrian before Grotfend made the happy guess that led to their decipher-

ment. The hieroglyphics were called Egyptian long before Champollion, or Thomas Young, or Dr. Birch began to unravel the mysteries of the Rosetta stone; and it does not seem a violent supposition that the remarkable inscriptions in the land of the Hittites, may have been produced by the warlike, but cultured, people who once inhabited the land.

In 1847 Francis William Newman discredited the Bible statement regarding the panic at Samaria for fear of the Hittites, and he declared that the story "does not exhibit the writer's acquaintance with the times in a very favourable light" ("History of the Hebrew Monarchy," p. 179). He added in a note, "no Hittite kings can have compared in power with the King of Judah, the real and near ally who is not mentioned at all."

In the last edition of the "Encyclopedia Britannica," Professor Cheyne reproduces Mr. Newman's arguments against the accuracy of the Bible, on the same score, and adds a few of his own. In fact the Bible references to the Hittites were Professor Cheyne's chief instrument for discrediting the Bible only twenty years ago.

"Some confusion," says this eminent professor, "has been caused in the treatment of the history of the Hittites by the uncritical use of the Old Testament." The professor's words are true, but in a very different sense from what he intended. While the professor

was writing the words, I was brushing up the old stones in Hamah, which have in the most scientific manner demonstrated the absurdity of his conclusions.

But they have done more ; they have shown the utter worthlessness of that system of interpretation which he is pleased to call scientific, but which, as a matter of fact, consists of sheer guess work.

True, Professor Cheyne has pleaded unacquaintance with the discoveries at the time, but all the more the worthlessness and utterly unscientific character of his method of investigation has been demonstrated and should be abandoned.

A short exchange of letters with the same professor in the *Academy* in 1886 led to the admission on his part, that the references to the Hittites in the Bible were historic except the incident at Hebron, which he wished "to lay open to future research." Since then the Tell el-Amarna tablets have revealed the Hittites pressing southward, and causing alarm to the governors and allies of the Egyptian king. With these facts before us, we can still hold by the story of the Field of Machpelah.

The author of Genesis did not invent the Hittites, and the wives of Esau are no longer interpolated.

David and Solomon had Hittite wives in their harîms, and the wife of Uriah the Hittite was the mother of Solomon, and ancestress of our Lord.

All questions of far reaching importance have to pass through three stages: first, they are received with ridicule; second, with hostility; and finally, they are accepted. Such has been the course of questions political, social, economic; and such has been the course of the Hittite question, which has now reached its final stage of gradation.

Archæologists are a sober race, with unsuspected depths of humour. Jokes were scarce in their world that year, when I declared the Hamah inscriptions Hittite, and hence, as Sir Richard Burton wrote, my theory was at first received *magno cum risu.*

The best of Holman Hunt's inimitable stories are about the reception of his "Scape Goat," when he brought it to England.

The picture was looked upon as a huge joke, or conundrum: something referring to Shakespeare, or the Bible, or *Punch*, or something of that sort, and many a Shakespeare was carefully explored for the Scapegoat, for people were talking of the wonderful picture, and it would never do to seem ignorant of the origin of the subject.

With the exception of Mr. Walter Besant none of the authorities would even look at the theory.

The late Mr. Tyrwhitt Drake, however, was so interested in the discovery, that we had projected a tour in Hittite land, and I had all arrangements made

and the mules hired, when he passed to the homeland where all is clear.

The hostility was earnest and sincere, but in a few cases it sprang from mixed motives. One British scholar got a commission to smash "the Empire of the Hittites" for a leading magazine. He wrote a severe critique. The editor sent it back to be made more severe. The critic complied; but when the article was in print, and revised finally for the press, he withdrew it, brought it to me, read it, and confessed the whole matter.

A gentleman now great in Hittiteology came to me one day, and in the most innocent manner told me he had been offered £10 by the editor of a Church magazine for an article on my book.

"I do not," he said, "know anything of the subject; but I want you to give me a copy of the book, and to help me to write the article. You know," he added, "it will help the book." I spoke to him in the words of truth, and our interview came to an abrupt termination.

But I had a letter from the British Museum on the following day to say that this searcher after truth was studying the inscriptions upside down, with the intention of overthrowing the Hittite theory. The review appeared, and was a severe attack on Professor Sayce and myself.

I put on record these items in connection with the

Hittites to encourage any who may have stumbled on a truth to hold by it. A little breeze of ridicule and hostility will not kill. Truth can afford to wait; she is used to it.

In discussing the Hittites up to date it is interesting to take a survey of the road we have travelled and the results that have been secured.

It is nearly forty years since I first read Burckhardt's references to the Hamah inscriptions. I then registered a secret resolve to bring the curious writing to light. Twenty years ago I succeeded in carrying out my resolve.

In sending these casts to the Palestine Exploration Fund I sent also a long paper prepared at Hamah. The descriptive part of the paper was published in the Transactions of the Palestine Exploration Fund. The second part of my paper, in which I declared the inscriptions Hittite remains, had much difficulty in finding anyone who would publish so wild a theory.

Mr. Walter Besant, who had not at that time discovered his genius for story telling, tried to induce unwary publishers to take the MS.; but he finally wrote to me at Damascus to say it was lying at the office of the *Athenæum*, and he feared would lie there for a long time.

After many vicissitudes the article was published by Principal Oswald Dykes in the *British and Foreign Evangelical Review*, and contains sub-

stantially the same facts brought before you this afternoon.

After five or six weary years, during which I felt as if I had committed some youthful indiscretion, I opened the *Times* one day in Rostrevor, and to my amazement found that the archæologists had been soberly discussing the Hittites.

They had had their laugh and had just waked up to what they looked on as their own discovery.

So slowly does the mind work, so difficult is it for the mind to accept new ideas; but the mind does move, and it does accept new ideas and conclusions.

Hence the Hittite Empire is admitted to-day to be one of the established facts of science.

Among these archæologists I do not include Professor Sayce and Canon Isaac Taylor; they had worked their way by independent study to the same conclusions as myself.

These eminent scholars came to attribute the Hamah and kindred inscriptions to the Hittites in much the same way as astronomers have sometimes been led to the discovery of a new planet by the existence of certain phenomena which could only be accounted for by the presence of some commanding influence.

The commanding influence was the Hittite, the central stock of which the Cypriote and the mysterious scripts of Asia Minor are branches.

In my article, written at the close of 1872, I ventured to predict that the Hamah inscriptions would prove the first fruits of a rich harvest, to be gleaned by the intelligent and industrious antiquary.

Few predictions have been so signally fulfilled.

In the first edition of my book* published in 1884, I was able to give eighteen plates of inscriptions. In the second edition, published the following year, the number rose to twenty-seven, and the number of inscriptions discovered is constantly on the increase.

Inscriptions of the same character, with variations are now found throughout the length and breadth of Asia Minor, and Northern Syria, from Hamah on the Orontes, to Eyuk by the Halys, and from Carchemish on the Euphrates to the Euxine and the Ægean.

New material recently furnished by Messrs. Ramsay, Hogarth and Headlam, with the bilingual cylinder, now in the Ashmolean Museum, have enabled Professor Sayce to take a forward step, and finally, as he believes, to complete his decipherment of the inscriptions. There is little doubt that Professor Sayce has made a great advance. He has the archæological imagination combined with genius, and his steps are so scholarly, that even when he errs he advances towards the final solution.

That more inscriptions have not yet been found

* *The Empire of the Hittites.* James Nisbet and Co., London, 1884.

between Kadesh and Carchemish need not surprise anyone. The country has not been carefully explored. The destroying Scythians swept the land of the Hittites.

The Selucidae, with their mania for building and rebuilding, occupied the land. The Romans succeeded the Greeks, and they too pulled down to build up. The Moslems drove out the Byzantines, and barbarous hordes of Crusaders captured and sacked most of the towns on the Orontes plain. For several centuries, the Turk like the genius of destruction, has been fulfilling his destiny by turning the fertile plains of Syria into barren wastes, and her splendid cities and temples into heaps and mounds.

The spoilers have been in the land of the Hittites for over 2,500 years, and it need not cause wonder if most of the Hittite inscriptions and sculptures have disappeared.

The records of the past, however, are not all irretrievably lost. The scores and scores of enormous mounds that dot the plains of Hittite-land, preserve their treasures safely from the destroyer, and when the obstinacy of the Turk has been overcome, and our own indifference succeeded by intelligent enterprise, the lost past shall live again, and the dead millenniums shall tell us all their story.

I must not prolong this paper by subsidiary questions, such as the origin of the Hittites; the

origin of the script now associated with their name; the decipherment of the inscriptions, which may be safely left to Professor Sayce; Hittite art; Hittite culture; Hittite religion, and other similar questions, which would require special treatment, and considerable space and time.

My object has been to summarize in broad outline, the more prominent, and now generally received facts up to date, regarding the great empire claiming recognition.

In arranging my facts I have claimed for the Hebrew Scriptures no higher authority than would naturally attach to the ancient writings of a historic people; but in these facts we discern that the light which has revealed the lost empire of the Hittites shines side by side with the light from the Bible. When the defenders of the Bible held their peace, before the confident assailants of the Book, "the very stones have cried out."

The CHAIRMAN: In proposing a vote of thanks to Dr. Wright for his most interesting lecture on the Hittites—a subject on which he has become our recognised authority—I cannot avoid calling attention to the singular circumstance that the older the world grows, the nearer do we seem to approach to a definite knowledge of its earlier ages. The particular period in which we are now living is one of unusual activity in Biblical research and the discussion of questions of remote antiquity. It is impossible to estimate

too highly the educational value of the information obtained through such inquiries, and our warmest thanks are due to the Societies that so ably and successfully promote the objects to which they refer. Especially should we tender our acknowledgments to the workers of the Palestine Exploration Fund; and I cannot but regard the labours of such men as Sir Charles Wilson and his associates—some his own brother officers of Engineers—as entitling them to that solid recognition which the country is ever ready to bestow upon eminent men who have contributed to enhance the national reputation. They appear to me—if I may venture so to express myself—in the light of the heroes of the old classical poems—whose deeds, though evidenced and recorded in plain quarterly statements, merit commemoration in an epic the scene of which is laid in Palestine, and the narrative of which bears upon that of the most sacred of books. In the list of the earlier and later explorers, I would venture to include the name of Mr. Walter Besant, who has so readily and generously given the benefit of his high abilities to the cause.

The Story of a "Tell."

BY

W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE, D.C.L.

Author of "Tell el Hesy," &c., &c.

The Chair was taken by WALTER MORRISON, Esq., M.P.

In introducing Mr. FLINDERS PETRIE the Chairman said: We have come here to-day to hear "the Story of a Tell" told by Mr. Flinders Petrie. What is a Tell? The word must have puzzled those who are not well acquainted with books on Egypt or Palestine, nor with the countries themselves. A Tell is a mound of earth showing by the presence of broken pottery or worked stone that it is the site of a ruined city or village. In England when a house falls down or is pulled down the materials are usually worth the expense of removing for use in some new building. But in Egypt common houses have for thousands of years been built of sun-dried bricks, in Palestine of rough rubble walling, which, on falling, produces many chips, with thick flat roofs of plaster. It is thus often less trouble to get new than to use old material; the sites of towns grow in height, and depressions are filled up. In Jerusalem the *débris* of one place is 120 feet thick. Even in London we find the same process going on: Wren had to sink the foundations of St. Paul's at the S.E. angle 40 feet through the *débris* of British, Roman, and Mediæval

London. Now our Tell is at a point where the maritime Plain of Philistia rises to the mountains of Judæa; and as this Plain has always been the route taken by armies invading Asia from Egypt or Egypt from Asia, by the armies of the Rameses, of Necho, of Sennacherib, of Alexander, and of Napoleon, we may expect to find in its Tells evidence of its occupation by the successive nations to whom the chances of war have given temporary occupation. One of these Tells from its position and its name of Umm Lakis might be the site of Lachish, and we were fortunate in persuading Mr. Flinders Petrie to desert for a few months his beloved excavations in Egypt, and to work for us in investigating the Umm Lakis Tell. For Mr. Flinders Petrie is a born excavator. He has shown how much remains to be done in so well worked a country as Egypt; he has the instinct, which really comes from a combination of brains, observation, and experience, which tells him where to begin to work. On arriving at Umm Lakis a short examination convinced him that he would do better to attack a larger Tell a mile or two away, and his work, which is still being carried on by Mr. Bliss, makes him think that he has found here the site of the more ancient Lachish, and that the name has been transferred on the destruction of the older town to a new town built at Umm Lakis. Such transfers of sites with the continuance of the old names are not uncommon in Asia. Delhi is a well known example. Our work henceforth must largely consist in the examination of these isolated Tells; we have nearly completed a map of Palestine practically as good as our own Ordnance Survey; we have excavated most of the open ground at Jerusalem, where it only remains to gather up the fragments

which remain, as the demolition of a house, the digging of new foundations or of a well, afford opportunities for research. In the unexplored Tells, of which very few have been examined, we may be sure there remains buried much which will throw light on the history, the religions, and the customs, of Palestine. But in this crowded meeting I must not interpose longer between you and our lecturer, and I now have the great pleasure of introducing Mr. Flinders Petrie to you.

DR. PETRIE: Before I say anything about the Story of a "Tell," it will be best to begin by saying what is a "tell." Scattered all over the ancient lands of the East are thousands of artificial mounds; in the plains of Egypt they strike the traveller's attention, rising abruptly to 50 or even 80 feet above the level alluvium; in Palestine they are less obtrusive owing to the hilly aspect of the country, but go where you will these artificial "tells" are to be seen in every view. It may be asked how it is that such remains are not found in the West. The reason is two-fold; firstly, that our civilisation is not old enough to have produced them; towns have not been deserted in England since the Saxon invasion, and the towns then abandoned had only existed for a few centuries, so that Silchester or Pevensey shows but a slight depth of accumulations. Secondly, our buildings are of much less destructible material than those of the drier lands of the East, (as they

have to resist bad weather), and hence they decay less quickly. But yet we have our tells, only we still live upon the top of them. Whenever any deep digging is done in the City, we look down 20 or 30 feet before we see the native soil; we are then looking through the tell of London. At the top of it we see our modern roads and foundations, and bits of modern plates and dishes; then layers of dirty black earth and brickbats, perhaps the relics of the Great Fire; below that may be a "grey-beard" jug, then a bit of Norman zigzag moulding, next a stray penny of Alfred, and below that a bit of Saxon walling, patched up from Roman tiles. Then we come to the massive walls of Roman tile and concrete, and pieces of Samian ware; and below all perhaps a bronze sword of the ancient British warrior. And what has made up all this depth of accumulation in the last two thousand years? We see it to be mainly dust, earth, more or less organic matter, and the fragments of successive buildings, the ruins of each of which were levelled one after the other to make way for the next structure.

Now it is as well to further consider our London tell, before we look to the East. If we see a tobacco pipe turned out at 10 feet deep, we may be certain that—if the soil is in undisturbed layers—as much as 10 feet has accumulated in 300 years or less. Or if we see a penny of Alfred at 20 feet deep, it is proof

that so much has the soil risen in a thousand years. We obtain an absolute limit to the age of any level by the pipe, or the coin, or the glass found in it. But in the other direction there is no absolute bar; the stratum may be of any age subsequent to the date of the objects, and it is often supposed that because there is no rigid proof that a thing was not already old when it was lost in the ground, that therefore we have no evidence worth having as to when the things were lost. But that is far from the case. I put it to your own common observation, how many of the things that you have lost or thrown away are older than the present century, or are even twenty years old? The buttons and eyes that come off, the pins that drop out, the plates that are broken, the trowel that is mislaid, the worn-out poker, and all the bulk of the precious relics that go to form our archæology for the future, these belong to our own lifetime. Probably not one object in a hundred that is deposited by chance or design in the present layers of our tell, was made before this century; and if this is the case now, it was as much, or more, the case in past times. If at any level we find even a single object of known age, we have at once a strong presumption that such a level is of at least the same century; and if several objects agree in their indications, the proof is practically a certainty.

As I have noticed before, we have not the same

rapidity of accumulation in the West as in the East. Wood is much commoner here; and in ruder ages wooden buildings were frequent, and when burnt or pulled down they left but little rubbish. The wattle and daub huts common in London in mediæval times must have largely helped to raise the ground when they dropped to pieces, but the burnt brick and stone buildings have left but a small proportion of accumulation. In the East it is different. There all the houses are of unburnt brick, from time immemorial; and every shower and every gust bear away some of the surface and leave it in the street. Moreover, all the refuse accumulates in the streets and, raises them by organic matter, bones, and waste of all kinds, in lands where dogs are the only scavengers. It is common in an oriental town to see the interior of a house some 2 or 3 feet lower than the street outside, showing where the ground level was when it was built. So soon as it falls into disrepair and is pulled down, the rubbish is naturally left in the lower part to raise it up to the later street level and start afresh; and so the elevation, which is gradual outside, is intermittent and sudden on the house sites.

What happens in our days has happened in all past ages with the raising of tells. The tell of London has risen at the average of rather over a foot a century; the tells of Egypt show 3 or 4 feet a century; and Tell el Hesy indicates 5 feet per

century of accumulation. Of course the deeper the deposit in a given time, the further apart are the different periods in the tell; and therefore the more clearness and certainty is there as to the relative ages of the objects, and the less chance of accidental mixture by irregular diggings in ancient times.

We will now look down into Tell el Hesy, just as I have supposed that we looked down into the tell of London. Only instead of needing to cut a deep hole to the bottom, a fine section was already prepared through the 60 feet depth of the tell by the wearing away of the stream on one side.

The first difficulty that we meet with is that there are no coins and no inscriptions to serve to date any of the levels. How then can we read history in a place if there is not a single written document? How can we settle here what the date of anything is, if not a single name or date remains? This is the business of archæology. Everything is a document to the archæologist. His business is to know all the varieties of the products of past ages, and the date of each of them. When our knowledge is thus developed everything teems with information. Nothing is so poor or so trivial as not to have a story to tell us. The tools, the potsherds, the very stones and bricks of the wall cry out, if we have the power of understanding them.

But how are we to proceed in a country where we

know nothing as yet of the age of its products? It is like an inscription in an unknown language: for that we have to wait for a bilingual tablet, and so begin to read the unknown from the known. Thus in the same way we must wait till we find objects from other countries of known age, intermixed with those as yet unclassified, in order to spell out the archæology of a fresh country. This interpretation of the archæology of Palestine was the special attraction to me for working there. The materials of known age proved but scanty in my work; a few pieces of pottery were all I had to rely on. To anyone unfamiliar with such evidences this might seem a slender basis for the mapping out of a history; yet I had full confidence in it. And now that far longer and heavier excavations have been carried on there by Mr. Bliss, some absolutely dated objects from Egypt, bearing the kings' names, and others which we can date by known examples, have amply confirmed the general age to which I had assigned the strata of ruins. As many of the details of the exact positions of the later discoveries are not yet to hand, and it would need a complete rediscussion of the whole material to assign the proper results from each, we must postpone a final settlement of the chronology of the tell to the close of the excavations. I shall therefore now show what evidence was available from my first brief work at Tell el Hesy, and what con-

clusions I formed; and then notice the later discoveries from the extended excavations of Mr. Bliss.

The first point is that on the top of the tell, the latest part of all, I found nothing as late as Alexander. And there is no trace of the Seleucidan or Roman period. Nor has Mr. Bliss found any later objects in the course of his complete clearing away of about half of the town, excepting some modern graves. Hence it is certain that we must place the whole history of the tell before the fourth century, B.C.

When I began collecting the potsherds from the various levels of the town, which have a total thickness of about sixty feet vertically, I noted various pieces of a certain thin brown pottery, which I had also found in Egypt, and believed to be of Phœnician origin. In Egypt this had been found associated with objects dated as early as 1400 B.C., it was common about 1200 to 1000, and the latest I believe to be about 800 B.C. When I came to compare these dates with the range of this pottery in the tell it indicated that the accumulations were about five feet in a century. And on this scale we are led to put the earliest foundation of the place to the beginning of the seventeenth century, B.C. You will see that there is nothing arbitrary in this reasoning. We know the limits of age of certain peculiar pottery in Egypt within fairly definite limits. We know the limits of

stratification of this same pottery in the tell; and we proceed to apply these two limiting dates to the two limiting strata. Then, as the houses were of the same material—crude brick—throughout the mound, it is only reasonable to apply the same scale of age to the depth below this Phœnician pottery. Of course this procedure is an approximation, there is no definiteness to a single year, or even a generation, about it; but it is ample enough to show beyond doubt what the general scale of the history is, and to which of the great periods of Amorite and Jewish history the main divisions of the mound, and the different classes of pottery found at different levels, are to be assigned.

The first results then having given such a scale of history, we could recognise without doubt also that the three great divisions, (1) the massive walls below, (2) the deserted and barbarous state of the site, (3) and the thinner walls above that with very different pottery, correspond to the Amorite age, the Judges, and the Jewish monarchy. On the basis of the facts which I had collected, I am happy to say that such an authority as Professor Maspero accepts without demur the historical results at which I arrived.

But since my work vastly more has been done in the extensive clearances by Mr. Bliss. Where I had only time to scrape away a few feet of soil, he has

now entirely wheeled off half of the town, and worked down into the oldest levels. If anything could test the first conclusions, it would be such a thorough clearance as this. The results of his work have, of course, filled in many details, and we shall learn much more of the exact age of the levels ; but as a whole the corroboration of the results of the first reconnaissance is very satisfactory. At the top he found the Greek pottery extending deeper in the middle of the mound than I had seen it at the edges ; but he adds that very probably the town was hollowed somewhat, with higher ground near the walls, and this would account for such a range of the Greek pottery, of which we know the date cannot exceed certain narrow limits.

Then he has found the earliest iron tools at a level which I assigned to about the ninth century, B.C. ; and this is quite accordant with the earliest iron tools yet found dated in Egypt. At a lower level near the base of the town the tools are of bronze.

Then a jar handle stamped with "The palace of Ra-aa-kheperu," namely, Amenhotep II, takes us back to the middle of the fifteenth century. A scarab, though without a name, yet shows by its design and style that it is evidently of Ramessu the Great, in the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries. All these belonging to this place, apparently a few centuries after it was founded, fully bear out the first

result that the origin of the town is in the seventeenth century, B.C.

The last news is that Mr. Bliss has found the long looked for prize, a cuneiform tablet. Professor Sayce has received the casts of this inscription, and it proves to be an unexpected confirmation of the conclusions at which I had arrived. From the character of the writing, which is the same as on the tablets written in Palestine in 1400 B.C. to the Egyptian king at Tel el Amarna, we have a close agreement regarding the chronology of the town. Further, it mentions Zimrida as a governor, and this same man appears as governor of Lachish on the tablets found at Tel el Amarna. We have thus at last picked up the other end of the broken chain of correspondence between Palestine and Egypt, of which one part was so unexpectedly found in Egypt a few years ago on the tablets at Tel el Amarna; and we may hope now to recover the Palestinian part of this intercourse and so establish the pre-Israelite history of the land.

We are now in a position to estimate the relation of the history of Tell el Hesy to the general course of civilisation. The culture of the East appears to have been restricted in the earlier times to the alluvial plains of the Nile and the Euphrates. In these favoured localities its course was modified by the natural surroundings, as we most prominently see

in the characteristic remains of the two countries ; in Mesopotamia the inscribed clay tablet is the principal record, whereas in Egypt, between the limestone cliffs, the rock tomb has preserved most to us. The intervening hills and uplands of Syria do not seem to have attracted much civilisation for a couple of thousand years or more after a high culture had been attained on the great rivers. The first great conflict between Egypt and Syria was the outburst of the Hyksos who swamped Egypt as barbarian invaders somewhat before 2000 B.C. They appear to have been a hardy race of mountaineers from the north of Syria, but they gradually yielded to the civilising power of their captives, much as the Goth yielded to the culture of Italy after he had ravaged it. It is hardly likely that such a people adopted elaborate defensive works before their civilisation in Egypt, and so far we do not know of any city remains in Syria as old as their power. Incidentally another indication shows us how recent civilisation was in Syria compared with Egypt. The Phœnician pottery types in the oldest forms we know them can be absolutely dated to 1400 B.C., as I have recently found fragments of each type in the waste heaps of that age belonging to the palace of Khuenaten. Now each of the three main types show that they were derived from leather vessels, so immediately as not yet to have lost the imitative markings. On the

deep bowls we see the pattern of the stitching of the leather; a withy bent round and tied, formed the rim and the handle, and the handle of the pottery bowl always preserves the type of the double end of the withy. Then a pouch of skin was put in the loop of withy, the edges cut into gores and stitched down the outside and around the brim. I had deciphered this last year, and this year I got a specimen of another type in Egypt of about 1400 B.C. This vase is very familiar in Phœnician pottery, but had not yet been found to show any signs of its origin. This early example, however, clearly indicated that it was derived from a skin bottle formed of two discs sewn together around the edge. A third type which is very common, and was largely found at Tell el Hesy, shows us in a few specimens the traces of its origin. Down the side of the body of it is a neat double ridge, and we can hardly avoid seeing in this the seam of the leather sewn together. Thus the main types of Phœnician pottery show in their earliest known forms a direct imitation of leather vessels, and though patterns last long, yet we can hardly suppose this first stage of the pottery was remote from its first invention. It appears then that we must place the introduction of the potter's art not very long before 1400 B.C. in Syria, or at least two thousand years later than in Egypt. The reason of this is obvious. To a nomadic people pottery is a trouble:

they cannot maintain the kilns for producing it, nor can they carry it easily when made. The Bedawin to this day use vessels of leather and of wood almost exclusively, and such were apparently in use always in the extreme south of Palestine, judging by the absence of any potsherds about the ancient sites there. Our recognition of the leather types of these vessels indicates to us that the inhabitants of Syria had been in a nomadic state until probably later than 2000 B.C.

Now this agrees well with the approximate date for the earliest occupation of Tell el Hesy. About the beginning of the seventeenth century B.C. is the date arrived at from the study of the stratification of the tell. As the position is one of the best in the low country, commanding two valleys, and with a constant water supply, it was probably fortified as early as any place in this region ; but the people who established themselves here had evidently taken a lesson in Egypt on the strength of fortifications. Their massive wall is twenty-eight feet in thickness ; and though not so vast as some Egyptian walls—which are even eighty feet thick—yet it shows a firm power, and a resolve to maintain it against a powerful foe. Who this foe was we can hardly doubt when we look to the Egyptian monuments. We there see that Thothmes I, Thothmes III, Amenhotep II, Seti I, Ramessu II, and Ramessu III, all warred in Palestine ; and most of

them fought the Amar, or Amorites, in whose region Tell el Hesy lay. Thus Palestine was in a constant turmoil with successive Egyptian invasions for some four hundred years; and it is to this age, from the sixteenth to the twelfth century B.C. that we must assign the series of great walls which defended Tell el Hesy, of which four several buildings and destructions can be traced, previous to the Israelite invasion. That great fortifications were employed by the Amorites in their wars we see in the Egyptian pictures of the campaigns. Fortified towns with high battlemented walls were frequent throughout the country; and the Egyptian kings had to conduct a series of sieges in order to advance their troops northwards.

To this age of the Amorite period of Tell el Hesy belong several interesting objects. Mr. Bliss has found a group of bronze weapons and tools which are of great interest, as they shew the types belonging to Palestine in the pre-Israelite age. The spears with long barbs are not as yet known as an Egyptian type, and they appear to belong distinctively to the Amorites. Neither are the chisels or adzes quite of the form found in Egypt. The axe or chopper is, however, of an Egyptian type, but of a type known in the older times before 2000 B.C., and not found contemporaneously with this example.

It seems, therefore, that the Amorites had borrowed

somewhat from Egyptian arts, but had developed an independent style of work, and must have made their own weapons, and not have been dependent on Egyptian trade. The mace head found here is also of a type only known earlier in Egypt. This independence of their civilisation is very marked in the styles of the pottery. So far we do not know any parallel to the distinctive characters of Amorite pottery. Probably we may find it akin to that of Northern Palestine, whenever that comes to be discovered and studied. But it is without any affinity to either the Egyptian styles on the south, or to the Phœnician on the north. It marks, therefore, a truly independent development of civilisation, and has many marked characteristics. The bowls with massive rims, the red facing of the insides decorated with burnished lines, the wavy ledge handles, the combed facing of the jars made by hand, the large neckless jars with only a round hole in the top, the soft ware with a polished red face—all of these are perfectly distinctive of the Amorite art. During the centuries of this civilisation the town had risen some 20 feet upon its own rubbish and ruins, and this shows us the first stage in the history of the Tell.

The Amorite power had long been weakened by the repeated conflicts with Egypt, and we now know (from Professor Sayce's researches this year) that Ramessu III had not only raided Palestine, but even

extended his arms into Moab. Now it is usually supposed that Merenptah is the Pharaoh of the Exodus. If so, we have a period of perhaps 10 years for Seti II (the length of his reign is unknown) 5 years for Amenmessu, 7 years for Siptah, 1 year for Setnekht, and 16 years to the last Syrian campaign of Ramessu III. Thus there is a total of probably just under 40 years from the Exodus to the last Egyptian raid on Palestine. As there is no trace of the presence of Egyptian armies in the accounts of the period of the Judges, it is practically certain that the Israelites could not have been in Palestine until after the campaigns of Ramessu III. And we see that there is a period between the death of Merenptah, and the last Egyptian raid on Palestine closely corresponding to the forty years of the Israelites in the wilderness. This explains also how it came about that the way was so cleared that a body of nomads, without much advantage of arms or discipline, could overthrow the Amorite civilisation so readily. The country was completely exhausted by continuous fighting with the Egyptians, and so soon as they withdrew, with all the plunder they could, the tribes of the Israelites began to pour in from the eastern desert. This agrees with the fact that only at Jericho and among the Ishmaelites is there any mention of gold, throughout the whole of the destruction and plundering of the Canaanite civilisation by

the Israelites, and the period of the Judges. The country had been so completely stripped during the repeated raids of the Egyptians, down almost to the year that the Israelites appeared, that there was nothing of value left in it; and it fell a prey to the zealots fresh from the hardships of the desert, just as the exhausted civilisation of the East in later ages fell before the fury of the Arab tribes in the first vigour of El Islam.

Tell el Hesy—the Lachish of the Amorites—was therefore capable of but little defence when the Israelites fell on it; and as walled cities were of no value to dwellers in tents it was abandoned after its destruction. For several generations it lay waste; and the wanderers who gained a scanty living then as now by burning the wild plants, and collecting the alkaline ashes for exportation to the glass factories of Egypt and Phœnicia, used this site as a convenient centre, having a water supply for washing the alkali from the ashes. All the insoluble ashes and charcoal dust were left behind here, and form a thick bed over most of the site; much like the heaps of alkali waste lying outside of Jerusalem now, especially some way from the Damascus gate.

On the establishment of the Jewish monarchy, and the revival of civilisation under the early kings, the old sites of cities became again of importance, owing to their natural positions. Probably reoccupied

under David or Solomon, the place was fortified by Rehoboam; and though several times, more or less, destroyed, it was rebuilt and refortified until the age of the Captivity. The most celebrated point in its history is the siege by Sennacherib, which forms the subject of one of the most spirited compositions of the Assyrian artists, now in the British Museum. The details of the situation of the city as shown there are exactly in accord with the point of view from the southern side; and the resemblance strongly suggests that the royal scribe or artist made sketches during the campaigns for the future sculptures. Only one building with any architectural features has yet been found in the excavations. That shows us the forms of the cornice, which appears to be borrowed from the later debased Egyptian style of the later Rameses; and the pilasters show a volute capital which looks like a forerunner of the Ionic volute. As an illustration of the debt of Jewish architecture to Egyptian, I may mention a discovery that I made this spring in Egypt. We all know the peculiar description of the two great columns of Solomon's temple, with the "nets of chequer work" or "network" upon the capitals. Hitherto that has been an entire puzzle to architects and restorers; and the last writer (Perrot) even produces the basket-work capitals of late Roman time to give some clue to the idea although those are characteristic of the Justinian

age, and have nothing to do specially with Palestine. I found, however, at Tel el Amarna, capitals of about four centuries earlier than Solomon, with what struck the eye as apparently network patterns over the capitals. So much were these like nets that I did not at first understand their origin. On more elaborate examples, however, I saw that the design was to inlay brilliant glazes in settings in the stone, gilding the ribs of stone between, so as to imitate a gigantic *cloisonnée* jewellery. It appears unmistakeable that this chequer-work design is the source of the "nets of chequer work" upon the capitals in the Phœnicio-Jewish architecture a few centuries later, and that we have here in Egypt the type of the pillars of the temple. This accords with the evidently Egyptian origin of the cornice that I found at Lachish; and we see that we must look to Egyptian architecture if we would understand the technical descriptions of Jewish work.

In pottery, as in architecture, the Jew was a borrower. All his sculpture and metal work was done by the Phœnician, and his pottery was only a coarse imitation of the earlier types of the Amorite and Phœnician potters. This is but natural when we consider that the tribes entered Palestine as nomads who cannot have had any pottery, but must have used leather almost entirely for vessels as well as garments. There is no mention of pottery in all the wilderness

period; nor even during the Judges, excepting the pitchers of Gideon.

The principal types of Jewish pottery are all coarse in material, seldom with any fine facing, thick in body, clumsy and rounded in form, without any elegance or delicacy of outline.

But before the captivity a new element had begun to mingle with the Eastern civilisation. The prehistoric Greek pottery is found scantily at Lachish, but the earliest historic pottery is not uncommon there. That this did not merely come through the hands of traders, but very probably along with Greek merchants and mercenaries, is seen when we consider how near the Greek was to Lachish. Daphnae of the Greeks, Tahpanhes of the Jews, was on the frontier of Egypt, the fortress defending the Syrian road. The next town to that on the road was Gaza, the Syrian frontier town, and within a day's journey on the road to Jerusalem lay Lachish. Hence Daphnae was the nearest and most familiar town of all Egypt to the Jews, and there Jeremiah and the fugitives fled on leaving Palestine. But this was a town containing a Greek and not an Egyptian population. For seventy years before the captivity a large garrison of Greeks, with all the surroundings of Greek merchants and followers, was settled there, and the pushing, mercantile Greek must have been even more familiar to the Jew than the conservative Egyptian had been.

Hence the early Greek pottery found at Lachish agrees with the probability of Greeks trading and perhaps residing there; and Greek words and ideas had probably penetrated to Jerusalem some time before the destruction of Solomon's temple. But we may go probably further back still for Greek influence in Palestine. Certain bowls found at Lachish are common at Naukratis, but are unknown at Daphnae. Hence there must have been some other line of communication established with the Greek world besides that of Daphnae, probably through Joppa. If the port of Daphnae had been the only source of Greek wares, the products would be naturally limited to those used at Daphnae. The earliest historic Greek pottery found at Lachish indicates therefore a different connection, and one probably earlier than the founding of Daphnae in 664 B.C., during the reign of Manasseh.

Although bronze was known in the Amorite times, and iron in the Jewish age (the iron tools being, however, suspiciously like those used by the early Greeks), yet flint, by its cheapness, maintained a place thoughout the whole of the Amorite and Jewish periods. From the forms of the flints found we may be certain that the Palestinians reaped their corn with sickles of wood, set with flint saws, of just the type actually found in Egypt down to 1400 B.C. The triangular flints fitted the corners of the sickles, the

deep saw pieces the middle, and the long strips the end, of the curved wooden backing. And not only was flint used for sickles, but also for dressing down the surface of stone by scraping.

After the deportation of the Jews by Nebuchadnezzar, the district seems to have fallen into the hands of the Bedawin, as it is at this day. For when the captives returned they appear to have founded a new Lachish at a few miles distant, now called Um Lakis, as from the remains there it is impossible that the site can have been inhabited earlier than post-exilic times. Shortly afterwards Tell el Hesy appears to have been re-occupied for a century or two, as Greek pottery of the pre-Alexandrine times is found on the top of it.

We have now passed in review the story of a "Tell"; we have seen that it was founded as soon as Palestine had emerged from the nomadic period, and fixed fortifications were demanded. Ravaged and rebuilt many times during the Egyptian conquests, the Amorites were at last pared to the quick by the Egyptians, and immediately after crushed under the influx of nomadic Israelites from the desert. Lying waste for centuries, the site regained its importance so soon as a central government was re-established in Palestine. A stronghold attacked by each invader, Lachish was often destroyed, and rebuilt again by the Jewish kings. While after the captivity it regained

its importance for a short time, and then fell into permanent desolation, before the flourishing period of Greek and Roman dominion in Palestine.

What has been done for one site may be done for others: and if we want to understand the history of Palestine and of its inhabitants we must repeat on many towns such work as has been given to unravelling the history of Lachish. Every successive step will be easier, as more is understood, and fresh data are laid down. The first step is the most troublesome in deciphering a new language, or the history of a country: and this first step, and indeed the second also, has now been adventurously undertaken by this Fund. We may hope as experience is acquired, and more is understood, that we shall know how to obtain results in a less laborious manner than has been the case during the last two years. But be that as it may, results have been obtained, results which light up our history of Palestine, and illustrate what has only been hitherto a record of words. And it is our duty to continue to obtain such results, and to wipe away the reproach that we know less of the antiquities of the land of the Bible than of any other country around the Mediterranean. The way has been opened, and I trust that the torch of active excavation in Palestine will not be put out for generations to come.

A cordial vote of thanks was given to the lecturer, and to the Chairman for presiding.

THE
Modern Traveller in Palestine.

BY

REV. CANON DALTON, M.A. F.S.A., C.M.G.

The Chair was taken by JAMES GLAISHER, Esq., F.R.S.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, I have much pleasure in introducing to you the Rev. Canon Dalton, who has had the unique privilege of travelling several hundred miles in Palestine with their Royal Highnesses Prince Albert Victor and Prince George of Wales, in the year 1882. This was before the railway from Jaffa to Jerusalem was thought of, and therefore the lecturer would be able to speak of travelling in Palestine a little time before the introduction of railways—for I hear that the railway from Jaffa, winding through the Judæan hills to Jerusalem, is nearly completed. Certain it is, travelling in Palestine will be changed, and it is therefore most important we should have a lecture on modern travelling before the change takes place.

WHEN the Executive Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund did me the honour to ask for an address on "The Modern Traveller in Palestine," I was at first somewhat embarrassed as to what might be exactly meant by the title proposed. Both the

adjective and the substantive gave me question. We all know the difficulty that there is in drawing the line between ancient and modern history; where are we to draw it between the ancient and modern traveller? Some authorities tell us that the beginning of modern history is best dated from the fall of Constantinople in the fifteenth century. Should we do well then to classify as ancient all travellers before that date? From the old Egyptian Mohar, who travelled in Syria, Phœnicia, and Palestine in the fourteenth century before Christ (the description of whose trip is still extant among the papyri in the British Museum), down onwards through the centuries, both those before and those after Christ, until we come to the accounts of those travellers which are now being published in English by the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society. If we did so, then "the ancient travellers" in Palestine would roughly be those who visited its hills and dales from fourteen hundred years before to fourteen hundred years after our Lord's time; and the term "modern traveller in Palestine" would cover all those who have followed their footsteps from the fifteenth century up to the present day.

What was I expected to say about these, the "modern travellers in Palestine"? Was I to take the volumes of Pococke, Seetzen, and Burckhardt, of Tobler, Ritter, Robinson, Porter, Stanley,

Thomson, Palmer, Tristram, and a whole host of others down to Mrs. Oliphant and Mr. Harper, and endeavour to point out how far their several conclusions had affected, or been affected by, the work of the Palestine Exploration Fund? How far their private conclusions had been thus verified, or modified, or even overthrown; and should I usefully conclude my lucubrations with pointing out what remained for the modern successor of these travellers still to accomplish in Palestine? Such a task would doubtless be one full of interest for the student; but it seemed to me that I was scarcely the person to attempt it, and that it would hardly be a very fit subject for an address on such an occasion as the present. We hope that it will be done most satisfactorily in the long-delayed new edition of Smith's "Dictionary of the Bible," some of the freshly written articles for which have been standing in type already for an unusually lengthy period.

If such then was not the task which the Executive Committee had set me, what did they anticipate I should find to say about "the modern traveller in Palestine." The good old word "traveller," as well as the person so designated, have alike passed somewhat out of our ken now-a-days. The "*bonâ fide* traveller" is only spoken of in connection with more or less dubious visits to the public-house on Sundays; commercial travellers also are not yet quite extinct,

But the traveller of former times, such as Marco Polo or Bruce, or some of those who were named just now, men who at the cost of much labour and patience, and indomitable perseverance, with few resources and steadfast faith penetrated into comparatively unknown regions for the first time, and brought back a carefully accurate account of what they had seen there, the real "traveller" of such sort became surely extinct with Livingstone. Elaborate preparations and hosts of more or less useful or useless companions, such as made up the train of Mr. Stanley in Central, or more recently of Lord Randolph Churchill in South Africa, have helped to kill the old significance that attached to the austere dignity of traveller. The old-fashioned traveller is nowhere, the modern tourist is everywhere to be found. A trip to Palestine, a tour round the world is the most commonplace and everyday experience for the majority of British born subjects, or American citizens, whose income is above a certain figure, or who have relatives or friends in more hemispheres than one. The way to the most remote corner of the globe is now so smoothed and eased that old people, and ladies, and little children are borne thither at small effort comparatively to themselves, and "run to and fro and go about the cities and grudge if they be not satisfied."

I came then to the conclusion that after all the "modern traveller in Palestine" was a polite and

dignified synonym for the tourist of to-day, and was intended by the Committee to designate the person who, without settling permanently in the land he visits, may spend there hours, or days, or weeks, or months, in moving about from place to place either collecting knowledge of some sort or another, whether in a desultory or more or less well-designed manner, or else simply seeking to amuse himself or herself to their edification—or otherwise.

A wave of such "modern travellers," amounting roughly in the aggregate to about fourteen thousand persons, breaks annually upon the shores of Palestine. Of these an overwhelming proportion belong to the Eastern Church, not more than one in every sixteen belongs to the Latin Communion. In all there are, it is computed, from ten to twelve thousand Christians of every denomination who now as "Pilgrims" visit the Holy Sepulchre in a normal year. Nearly half of these are Russian peasants; about four thousand are Greeks from the various countries that fringe the Levant, or Armenians; about two hundred are Copts from Upper Egypt;* from five hundred to one thousand are French and Latin, the rest are native Christians.

Anyone who has visited Jerusalem at Easter time must have been struck by the quiet, earnest, serious

* The Copts are encouraged by the Egyptian Government to make the pilgrimage, and are passed over the Egyptian railways at half fare.

aspect of the Russian peasant, man or woman, as they trudge in from the great Russian convent and barracks that dominate the city on the north, and with bared head and taper in hand make the round of the sacred places. Most are past middle age; all are carrying out at last the intention of a life-time, over the consummation of which they have long brooded and prayed. Several have walked on foot one, or even two thousand miles from their native village in the interior of Russia before they arrived even at the port of embarkation on the shores of the Black Sea, and have voluntarily undergone much inevitable suffering and hardship on the way. Each peasant pays for his own passage and all costs connected therewith, out of the treasured earnings that he has carefully stored up from year to year with this intent. The Russian Government requires, before granting permission to any one of them to leave Russia at all, a specific promise and engagement that they will return; and that each peasant should deposit in the hands of the authorities enough to defray his return fare. In a normal year from five to six thousand peasants will fulfil these conditions. Last Easter, however, owing to the famine and the quarantine regulations, there were not more than two thousand, and it is possible that next year there may be even fewer; but after the passing away of the present distress in Russia the number will in all probability

mount again to six or seven thousand, even if it does not assume ever constantly larger proportions.* Arrived at Jaffa the Russian host push on over the intervening thirty-seven miles to Jerusalem, visit the Holy Sepulchre, the Mount of Olives, and the sacred spots in the environs, go to Jordan, and to Bethlehem, and then wend home again. But not before each has contributed his toll and fee to the local funds of the Eastern Church. It is their money that furnishes the means for the many renovations of older buildings and for the erection of new chapels and shrines that are now springing up here, there, and everywhere in Southern Syria under the egis of the Eastern Orthodox Church. For devoutness of endeavour, for general orderliness of conduct and behaviour, these ill-educated Russian peasants afford a striking example to many a Western European who visits the Holy Land.

Of "the modern travellers in Palestine" who belong to the Latin Communion, most are French. They number from five hundred to one thousand a year. There exists in France a benevolent society for helping poor French Catholics to make this pilgrimage. Their attention and devotion is also chiefly

* For these statistics and some others that follow I am indebted to the kindness of Messrs. Thomas Cook and Sons, who have furnished them to me partly on the authority of the British Consul at Jerusalem, and partly as the result of their own unrivalled opportunities for acquiring such information on the spot.

confined to Jerusalem and the shrines in its immediate neighbourhood. Though of course it is from visiting the rival sites for each several event in the sacred story, which exist, as you are aware, in most places side by side with those upheld by the Eastern Church, that their piety is stimulated.

The Moslem pilgrims amount to about as many as the French; and though it is difficult to obtain an accurate return, it is estimated that they number in an average year from five to six hundred in all. Of the Jews, most, as you heard in a former address, who come now-a-days to Jerusalem, come to remain; they are colonists rather than travellers; a very insignificant few out of the number return to the foreign land from whence they set forth.

Leaving now the pilgrims proper, we pass on to another class of "modern traveller in Palestine." Between the 1st of June, 1891, and the 31st May, 1892, the total number of first-class passengers that landed at Jaffa was 1,123. Of these 270 were French, the remaining eight or nine hundred were American and English. The French for the most part spend about a week or a fortnight at Jerusalem and in its neighbourhood, at the cost to each of them of about 300 francs, or from £12 to £15 sterling. And the nine hundred or so English-speaking tourists—who I presume chiefly concern us who are here to-day—what do they accomplish? Three-quarters of the number

(like the Pilgrims), attempt no more than a sight of Jerusalem and its environs, perhaps go to Bethlehem, five miles to the south, and to the Jordan, eighteen miles to the east; and then embark again at Jaffa, proceed by sea to Beirût, land once more, and run up to Damascus. But not a quarter of the number, not more, that is to say, than 200 or 300 on the very outside make any effort to go through the land, or apparently take any real or abiding interest in its associations. In former days no one went to Palestine, unless he was desirous of enlarging, or giving reality to the impressions he had derived by study at home. But now, as far as the majority of the English-speaking visitors are concerned, it is not so. Many of these "modern travellers in Palestine" have previously spent the winter in Egypt, and as it is too soon to return to the uncertain weather of a northern spring, the proper thing evidently is an easy run to Jerusalem. Most carry away, it is to be feared, a generally unfavourable impression of the Holy City; it seems small, its streets are dirty and squalid; they are disappointed, and dissatisfied, for to their nerves the air seems heavy with what an ordinary Protestant regards as superstition. The religious feelings of some few are undoubtedly stirred sympathetically by the hurried contemplation of the sacred places of the Greeks and Latins, but others are moved in quite another way. I remember, for instance, an Englishman of much in-

telligence, a distinguished member of the gallant profession he still adorns, who after describing to me such a visit to Jerusalem, was rather for dissuading me from going to Palestine; because, he said, "after beholding the various surroundings of the Holy Sepulchre, you will find it hard to believe in the truth of the Christian religion at all." I quote this as an illustration of the extreme revulsion of feeling that is naturally engendered in some minds, when they regard the manners and customs of other people, especially their religious rites and ceremonies—to which they are not themselves habituated—and fail to make adequate allowance for the weaknesses of human nature, or for the deep sentiment that is akin in reality to their own best thoughts, though it finds its manifestation in a form alien to their own. The truth is, all such persons do not in their hurry penetrate beyond the exterior to that which lies beneath. They are in reality doing themselves just what they blame those whom they call superstitious for doing in another way. They are slaves to an external materialism. If, for instance, they make the descent to the wondrous ravine of the Jordan, unlike anything else on the face of the globe, past the threefold interesting site of the prehistoric, the Jewish, and the Herodian Jericho, haunted by the martial memories of Joshua's raid with the vanguard of the Beni-Israel, and by those of more than one romantic and pic-

turesque episode belonging to the prophetic schools, by memories of the Egyptian Cleopatra, of Herod's funeral that here wound its way, of Dives and Lazarus, and the last journey of Jesus, of the Essenes and early Christians, and of much else, these persons carry away chiefly a remembrance of the roughness and aridity of the road thither, and of the smallness of the muddy Jordan stream, when they reached it, and are apt to consider the river itself as Naaman at first did—a fraud. If they go to Bethlehem they are chiefly impressed by the rivalries and jealousies of the Greek and Latin, and the sight of the Turkish soldier gun in hand, who has always to stand sentry there scowling over the most sacred spot within the very church of the Nativity, to keep the peace between Christians over the birthplace of the Prince of Peace.

Now I do not wish in the least to blame these people; on the contrary I think all this most natural and inevitable. But upon the present occasion it is more pertinent to ask, what is the Palestine Exploration Fund doing, or what can it do for such? Their number will probably largely increase when the railway is opened next year from Jaffa to Jerusalem. The majority of the nine hundred or thousand English-speaking people who visit Palestine in a year continue but a few days in the land, and that chiefly at Jerusalem. They are not generally prepared beforehand by any deep study or very wide reading

to appreciate what they see. Am I therefore too sanguine in expecting that the proposed opening of the Museum in Jerusalem which will contain a collection of objects formed by the officers of this Fund, may tend towards helping even the most hurried visitor to penetrate beneath the surface of things. That is, you know, literally the chief object of the Fund's existence : to penetrate beneath the surface of things in Palestine. And so I would fain hope that such a Museum, judiciously arranged, may help to lead even the most casual visitor to Jerusalem, in the words of the Psalmist, "to think upon her stones," not only to gaze upon them and pass by, but "think upon her stones" ; to remember that modern Jerusalem, for instance, is but the topmost strata of a congeries of several preceding cities : that beneath its outward aspect lie entombed even now waiting to be unearthed the remnants of those who have played their part in what everyone—be he who he may—must acknowledge to have been one of the most remarkable dramas of history ; and where the ruins of the work of at least three distinct Jewish periods, as well as those of the Herodian, the Roman, the Byzantine, the Crusader and the Moslem lie piled together. Shall we not do well then to endeavour to awaken, even in the most casual passer by, somewhat of an intelligent interest in these things, by such an exhibition on the spot of our actual discoveries, and also by that of models of the holy

city at different periods, as far as can be ascertained; of maps and contours, of photographs, and of the work and publications of this Society; and by the employment of a custodian during at least the spring and autumn months, when the tide of visitors is at its height, whose heart will be in his work, and who will not weary at the constant repetition of the story to successive groups of strangers? A similar good effect we anticipate will result from the series of lectures which were instituted last spring in connection with the Jerusalem Association of the Palestine Exploration Fund. For propaganda purposes therefore and for healthily enlarging its influence, it is most essential that the fund should be as well represented at Jerusalem as in London. For may we not expect that when an interest is once awakened in the breast of the passing stranger, it will not only be the means of adding to the pleasure and profit which such modern travellers in Palestine should derive from their hastily snatched visit, but that it may in some instances at any rate bring forth further fruit afterwards, so that when they return home to England or America they may read more and think more, and perhaps even help more by their subscriptions towards the prosecution of such work as they thus get a glimpse of at all events.

And the remnant of the eleven hundred "modern travellers in Palestine," what do they? that is to say,

the two or three hundred or so, chiefly English and American (the larger half, perhaps, being American), who, not content with Jerusalem and its environs, make some attempt to go through the country. They confine themselves generally to a well-worn beaten track which lies wholly in Western Palestine. From Jerusalem they go by the north road to Nablus, Nazareth, and Tiberias ; an interesting, undoubtedly intensely interesting journey to the intelligent traveller, if he keeps his eyes open and knows how to use them ; but a little variety of plan, a slight divergence from the common route, even if it were only for a mile or two, on one side of the road or the other, to visit this or that spot, which they unwittingly now neglect, would enable them to see and enjoy so much more, and to obtain so far better a notion of what the Holy Land is, and was. May I be pardoned if, with much diffidence, I make a few suggestions with regard to this class of "modern traveller in Palestine." They are not intended for students or scholars, or for such as have been already to the Holy Land ; to them an humble individual like myself would not venture to offer aught. But to some of the two or three hundred of our English-speaking brethren who may be intending to visit Palestine another year I might haply say a few words, under two heads ; first, as to the preparation for such a tour, and then, secondly, as to the manner of making it.

First, as to the preparation. Everyone would acknowledge that before we can expect to reap any adequate enjoyment or profit from a tour in Palestine we must have acquired at home, before starting, some little knowledge of the land and of its history: especially as to its physical features and the general geographical contour upon which so much of its history depends. And with reference to this I would desire to draw your attention to a series of articles by Professor G. A. Smith of Aberdeen (the well-known commentator on Isaiah) upon the historical geography of Palestine that have lately appeared in the "Expositor." For wide and firm grasp of the subject, and for clear and admirable literary arrangement they well deserve your careful perusal. I presume they will be shortly published in a separate form. Meanwhile Major Conder's "Primer of Bible Geography founded on the latest explorations" (published by the Sunday School Union); or else another little book "On the Historical Geography of Palestine," by Dr. Henderson (published by Clark, of Edinburgh), with maps revised by the same authority, Major Conder, ought certainly to be familiar to your hands. When the outlines of the country's geography have been thoroughly grasped it will be time to make an attempt to render more vivid to your apprehension the history that has been enacted upon its hills and plains. For this object the new map lately published

by this Society is simply indispensable. It embraces both sides of the Jordan, and on it the modern names are printed in black, the latest identifications of the Old Testament and Apocrypha names in red, and the New Testament, Josephus, and Talmudic names in blue. A useful adjunct to the map will of course be found in another publication of this Society, the list by Mr. George Armstrong, of the names and places in the Old and New Testaments, and the authorities for their several modern identifications.

As regards the study of the Old and New Testaments themselves, I need scarcely speak ; nor venture to mention any special commentators on them, or on their several component parts. To know well the historical facts, and the literary beauties enshrined in them, which perhaps it is not too much to say derive two-thirds of their charm from local colouring, is the one great essential for the purpose we have in hand. But I would entreat you not to forget the history of the four hundred years that elapsed between the return from the captivity and the opening of the New Testament. That was a most momentous period in the history of the land and of its people, and has left an indelible trace on both. Many of us are, I fear, a little apt sometimes to forget it. (I do not know any better means to recommend you for the purpose of readily acquiring a knowledge of it than the two first volumes

of Graetz's "History of the Jews," of which a new English translation, under the late author's sanction and revision, has just been published by Nutt.) Then do not omit to read through Josephus—in the original and in Niese's edition if you can—but at any rate in Bohn's recently revised English translation, with topographical notes by Sir Charles Wilson; and of course following the narrative with the map. This will bring you to the Roman occupation. Take then Schürer's "Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ," or else Edersheim's "Jesus the Messiah," and (if you can) Mommsen's "History of the Roman Provinces," especially the chapters relating to Syria and the great Roman roads—those bits and bridles of the empire. Next brighten up your memory of the Crusaders. Few things more impress the visitor to the Holy Land than the extent of the signs and tokens of their occupation that still exist. The ruins of their well-built churches and castles everywhere meet the eye. Read therefore before you go thither, at any rate, Sir George Cox's little work, "The Crusades," in Longman's "Epochs of History," and Archer's "Crusade of Richard I," composed of extracts from the original contemporary writers in Mr. York Powell's series. Then, lastly, for the Moslem period do not forget Mr. Guy Le Strange's "Palestine under the Moslems." Now none of these books mentioned are ponderous, or expensive, or

difficult to obtain; the price of most of them is reckoned in shillings, rather than pounds; and though I could wish naturally that you would study a far larger number of works, and though some of those whom I have the honour to address to-day will recall perhaps this or that other work which they fancy ought not to have been omitted, yet I have confined my recommendations to the smallest and barest limit possible, and have eschewed all reference to many of my own favourite writers, or those from whom I have learnt most. For we must remember it is the majority, not the select few, out of the two or three hundred modern travellers in Palestine who go through the land that we are now considering, and therefore it would be unwise to ask too much before starting. If you really master, not merely scamper through, the contents of the few authors I have indicated before you set out, you will have at all events a fair outline, and a very decent general notion, of the natural configuration and of the past of Palestine; and will have laid a slight but sure foundation whereon to erect a superstructure by your own further reading and observation as opportunity offers.

In the second place as to the manner and scope of your tour. The first preliminary to determine is the extent of time you can afford to spend within the Holy Land. A month is surely almost too little. I would advise you to try if you cannot manage to

allow six weeks or two months (March and April are the two months when it looks its best, and is all aglow with flowers) from the time you land at Jaffa to the day you re-embark at Beirût. During the course of your preparatory reading you will have formed a pretty clear notion of what places or spots in the Holy Land you wish particularly to set eyes on or examine, what episodes you individually care most to realize by bringing yourself face to face with the localities where they are said to have been enacted. Take then the ordnance map and measure the distances in orderly sequence of these spots which you have selected the one from the other, recollecting that you will be able to cover on an average fifteen or twenty miles a day, and that you will do well to allow not only Sunday for not shifting your encampment, but also one other day at least in each week for journeying only half the average distance. Thus you will measure off for yourself and see how much you can get in to your allotted time. And here let me press upon you not to omit to cross the Jordan and spend some days in Eastern Palestine. Wherever you are in Western Palestine you will see the bright blue towering wall of the Moab Hills, which so impressed Dean Stanley, though he was never able to set foot upon them, and they will seem to call to you to go over thither. Till recently it was difficult and dangerous for the ordinary travellers so to do. Now it is just as easy to travel

there as in Western Palestine. And it is incomparably the finer country of the two, with its breezy uplands, waving cornfields, and well wooded dells. The only places in Syria that are not now safe to visit are Kerak at the southern end of the Dead Sea, and the country thence by Petra to the Gulf of Akabah and the Red Sea. But these lie far away to the south, and quite outside the region we are speaking of. If possible, therefore do not rest content until you have stood either on Nebo, or else at the Castle of Rubud north of the Jabbok, or else on Jebel Osha (the high mountain to the north of es Salt), and looked down from the grassy summit of any one of those Pisgah watchtowers of the trans-Jordanic heights, away westward across the Ghôr, as it rolls itself 4,000 feet below, from Bethshan on the north to Jericho on the south. The panorama of all Central Palestine lies outspread as a map before your gaze. Much in the Holy Land has been altered and changed during the lapse of centuries, so that if they were to return the patriarchs would scarce recognise their old home ; but this view, so multiplied and so beautiful, must have been the very prospect which presented itself to the eyes first of Abraham and then of Jacob as they came in from Mesopotamia, and is substantially the same to-day as it was when unfolded before the eyes of Balaam and of Moses. These natural configurations of the country have not changed since then ; and you

see them in their entirety thus as they have always appeared during the whole of historic time. And as you spell out thence each crest of the Galilean and Samaritan highlands and your eye passes southward by Olivet to the hill country of Judæa and to the gleam of the Western Sea, you will learn a lesson and impress a memory upon the tablets of your mind that will not be obliterated therefrom to your dying day. Ascend Hermon, too, by all means. You can ride up Jebel Osha or to Castle Rubud, but the summit itself of Hermon is best taken on foot, though it is not difficult climbing for the vigorous; and the prospect looking south thence embraces all the representative countries concerned in Israel's history, from Damascus on the east whence Abraham came, and the Haurân, and Gilead and Carmel of Elijah, the Jordan and Tiberias with its lake, and beyond that the Nazareth hills away to Tyre and Sidon on the Mediterranean shore.

When, therefore, you have made up your mind what it is you wish specially to see in Palestine, draw up the rough sketch of an itinerary, marking off for yourself from the map its various stages, and setting them down with the dates of the days on which you propose to arrive at and depart from each in order. Determine next how large your party is to be; when from four to six friends travel together, it is the most convenient number, and the most economical on the whole. The

total expenses will amount from 25*s.* a day to 35*s* a day for each of such four or six. This will include the use of tents, animals, food, dragoman or managing interpreter, cook, and other servants. If you cross the Jordan the expense for each member of such a party will be about 5*s.* per day extra, as you will be slightly further from your base of supplies. But a week or ten days spent there will well repay you both in present enjoyment and in future retrospect.

When therefore you have drawn your rough sketch itinerary and know definitely how many friends are going in your party, and how long you can afford to spend in the Holy Land, then send or take it to Messrs. Thomas Cook and Sons, who practically are the organisers of the best means of travel in the East. More than over 800 of the modern travellers in Palestine this year availed themselves of Messrs. Cook's horses and tents, experienced attendants and commissariat arrangements. Interchange therefore ideas upon the details of your programme with one of the agents of the firm at the head office in London. From the information you there receive you may perhaps be led to modify one or two of your proposals, to add to or to cancel from your itinerary this or that item. But on the whole, if you have drawn it wisely, you will be able to adhere to and carry it out with his help. Most of the success or otherwise of your trip will naturally depend on the constitution of your

party. There is a curious piece of advice given in Baedeker—"The conversation," he says, "with companions on religious topics had better as a rule be avoided, as expressions of opinion on these subjects too often lead to serious misunderstandings and even quarrels." Well, judge for yourselves; but one would imagine that the most elementary tact and courtesy must be lamentably wanting if such be the case. Let us hope it will not be so with your party. My own personal experience has been that if the tastes of the various members differ somewhat—if one cares more for natural history, another for antiquities, and a third for sport, for shooting quails for instance, or other small chance game that may be met with in out-of-the-way places—the general happiness and enjoyment of the whole is increased by a difference of temperament and inclination in its constituent parts. Remember that practically you will be all day long in the open air, rising early each morning soon after daybreak, then breakfasting you will mount about six o'clock or so and jog along, visiting this or that object or place on or a little off your road, till midday, when you will halt awhile in some shady spot, and then on again till early in the afternoon you arrive where your camp and tents have been brought forward and are ready for your use. You will not expect to live as luxuriously as in a first-class London or Paris hotel. Now and again you may have a day or so

of rough or wet weather ; you will inevitably have two or three disagreeable things or mishaps to put up with ; but on the whole, if you have chosen your time and your route well, you will have an uncommonly healthy and pleasant life while under canvas. May I ask you to bear in mind that in visiting many of the traditional holy places and buildings it is well to recollect that many of them were originally intended to be singly "memoria" of the events said to have been enacted there. They were not meant originally to be the exact identical spots, any more than a picture of our Lord or of the Virgin is supposed to be an exact representation of their identical form. The chief purpose of the one as of the other was by their contemplation to awaken or sustain religious feeling, though in some cases each have since acquired the repute of absolute authenticity. So, therefore, when you visit these sites instead of questioning their identity, if you wish to thoroughly for the moment appreciate the genius loci, endeavour to conceive vividly the event there commemorated. Afterwards, or at another time, without any shock to your sense of propriety, you can, if you are archæologically inclined or care to do so, investigate the reasons for or against the identity of any traditional spot. It is after all the local colouring of holy writ you will be led to estimate most vividly by your journey in Palestine, and an appreciation of this is perfectly

possible without any entering into controversial topics.

Finally I would say, take with you as your constant companion a copy of Stanley's "Sinai and Palestine." However opinions may vary about the identification of this or that place by the Dean, or by others who have written subsequently to him, it is unlikely that his work will ever be superseded as a literary repertory illustrative of the passages he quotes therein from the Old and New Testament. If on returning to your camp of an evening, or on the Sunday rest day, you read what he has therein to say about the sentiments and associations attaching to the locality you have just visited, you will be astonished at the keen enjoyment you will feel with him as he makes the past thus live again before you, and many a passage of holy writ will thus acquire a new meaning to you, as you gain on the spot, with his assistance, a fresher insight into its force and truth. So perhaps you will be gradually led to sympathise with the noble and aged knight who having received his knighthood at the holy sepulchre in the fifteenth century, on being questioned about his pilgrimage to Palestine, said, "Nowhere have I received the grace of God in so large a measure as I did at the places where our redemption was wrought, for whenever I betook myself to prayer, methought I saw the heavens opened and divine sweetness and consolation was

poured into my soul as it was nowhere else." For though the modern traveller in Palestine can of course scarcely expect to look at things in the same way as did the mediæval pilgrims, nevertheless he takes an interest in the land for the same reasons as did his European forefathers of the middle ages, simply because of its religious past. The modern traveller no less than the ancient seeks for the verification and realisation of the local colouring of the Holy Scriptures, that breathes around the personages and events therein portrayed. Though naturally he will ever be on the look-out for it more from a literary and scientific point of view than were his progenitors. Therefore, let me conclude my somewhat desultory and conversational address to you on the modern traveller in Palestine by quoting what Mr. Aubrey Stewart tells us in his introduction to the last volume just issued by the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society was the counsel given by Count Eberhard of Wurtemberg, who had himself visited Palestine, to Brother Felix Fabri when he asked his advice about making the pilgrimage. "There are three acts in a man's life (said the noble count), there are three acts in a man's life which no one ought either to advise another to do, or not to do. The first is to contract matrimony, the second is to go to the wars, the third is to visit the Holy Sepulchre. I say that these three acts are good in themselves, but they may easily turn

out ill; and when this is so, he who gave the advice comes to be blamed as if he were the cause of its turning out ill." But the wise count went on to say that the pilgrimage about which his advice was asked was "an act which might be virtuous, holy, praiseworthy, and exceeding useful, yet only to those who undertook it with a view to the praise of God, while it would be full indeed of peril to those who made it out of frivolity or curiosity, having as their object the pomps of this world, or any other empty and transitory vanities."

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, this lecture completes the series; it is the last of seven, and it is most pleasing to the members of the Executive Committee that they have been so well attended, and that so much interest has been taken in them. It is possible they may be continued next year; but this is all I can say. I feel certain the more the labours of the Palestine Exploration Fund are known, the more it will be assisted in its work. The Executive Committee are desirous to thank warmly the several lecturers, viz.: Colonel Sir C. Wilson, Major Conder, the Rev. Canon Tristram, Walter Besant, M.A., the Rev. W. Wright, D.D., W. M. Flinders Petrie, D.C.L., and the Rev. Canon Dalton; and also to give their cordial thanks to the several Chairmen, viz.: His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, F. D. Mocatta, Esq., Sir Edmund A. H. Lechmere, M.P., Major-General Sir F. J. Goldsmid, K.C.S.I., and Walter Morrison, Esq., M.P.

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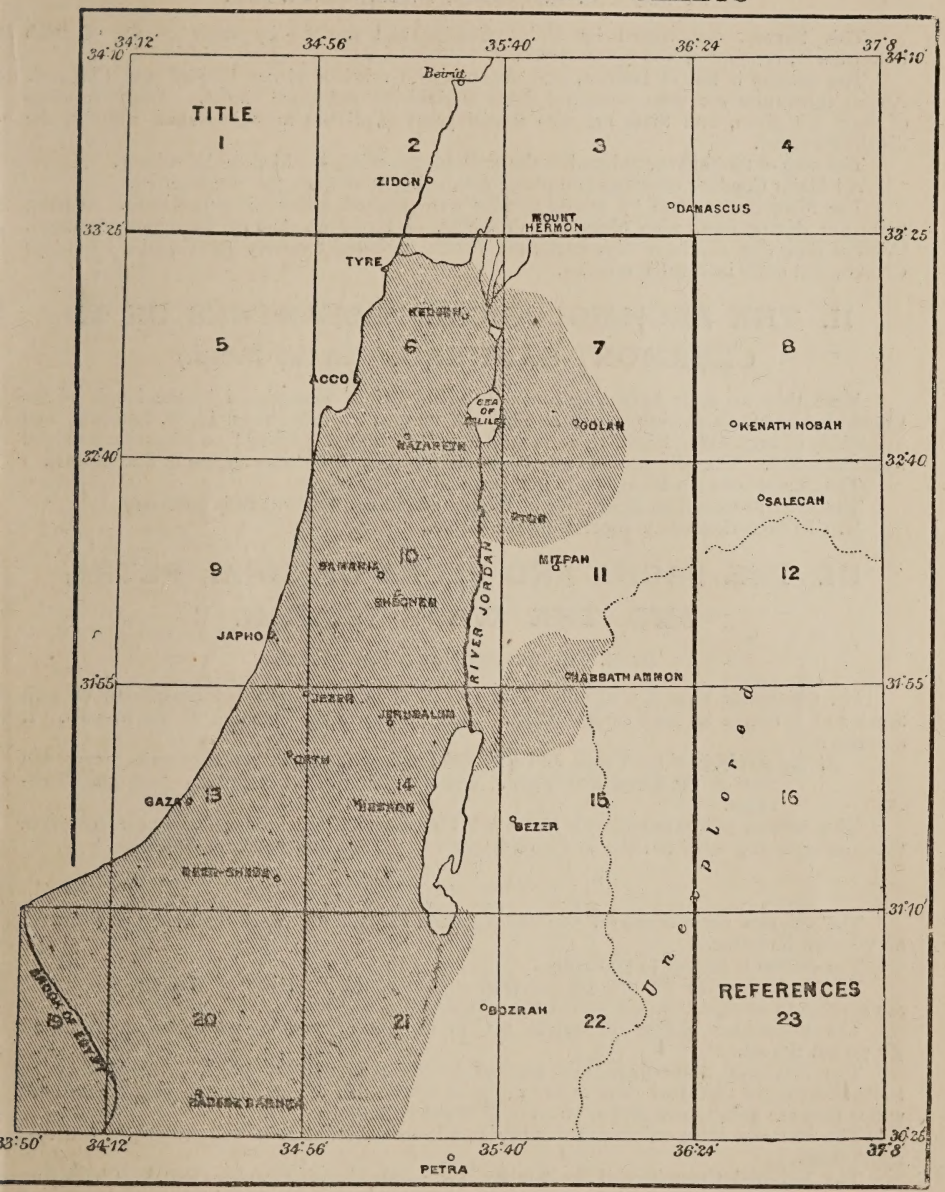
OLD AND NEW TESTAMENT MAP.

KEY MAP TO THE SHEETS



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